THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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With Giant Strides

Victory is coming nearer with giant strides, even though it may still be a long way off. Finland is out of the war. Germany herself has been invaded from the West. Our troops have struck across Belgium into the Netherlands with a speed which puts the Nazi blitz to shame. By Labor Day, the Russian forces had crossed Rumania and stood along the border of Bulgaria, which had waited only for the reconstitution of her government to sign armistice terms. Farther west, the Russians were close to the border of Yugoslavia, where they could join forces with Tito. In central France, the Germans were retreating at full speed before the Americans coming up from the south. On the other side of the world, all signs pointed to an imminent invasion of the Philippines.

It seemed clear this week that our military timetable was outrunning our political one. We are lagging sadly, both in regard to the problem of what to do about Europe and that of what to do about reconversion at home. We need far better and faster thinking than has yet been seen, if a brilliant military success is not to be followed by heartbreaking political and economic blunders.

Queer German Strategy

There is nothing more fascinating in war than to observe how, as a strategic plan develops, it is modified by the counter-concepts of the enemy. Last week the grand design of General Eisenhower's campaign in France became fairly apparent; this week the modifications imposed by the German defense have set in, and it is possible to assay the German grand tactics as some of the most singular ever seen in war.

They are so singular, indeed, that if the now dubious morale of the German armies collapses, it can probably be attributed to the methods of the High Command, although these are, in a sense, what might have been expected, since they are no more than a logical extension of the whole Nazi philosophy. With General Patch's rapid rush up the Rhone Valley and Patton's thrust past Troyes, it became apparent that both were heading for Metz and the main line of escape for the German armies on the Channel coast. The normal military reply would have been for the Germans to conduct a fighting retreat eastward across north France along several lines, and up the valley of the Rhone and Saone toward Belfort.

Throwing Away Men

Instead the German Nineteenth Army remained well to the south before attempting any retreat, its primary mission apparently to check General Patch. In this it seems to have succeeded at very considerable cost to itself. (The cost is not quite so heavy as the communiqués and correspondents try to make us believe; they speak of some two thousand vehicles captured and another two thousand destroyed, with some twenty-odd pieces of artillery taken. The normal equipment of a single infantry division is more than three thousand vehicles and more than twenty-seven cannon, and the German Nineteenth Army is made up of something like ten or eleven divisions, so that its loss of equipment is not outrageously high.) In the north the formations of the German army group holding the Channel coast apparently made not the slightest effort to check Patton's rush eastward or even to get into position to check it. The great fortresses of Metz and Nancy were held by nothing but ordinary military

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police forces. As a result the Allied forces are now in possession of essential points on all the escape routes save the very narrow one through Eindhoven and the high ground in south Holland. The procedure is of a piece with the German defenses of Cherbourg, Brest, St. Malo and Toulon. It is a strategy of deliberately sacrificing large bodies of troops in places cut off and where the only gain can be time.

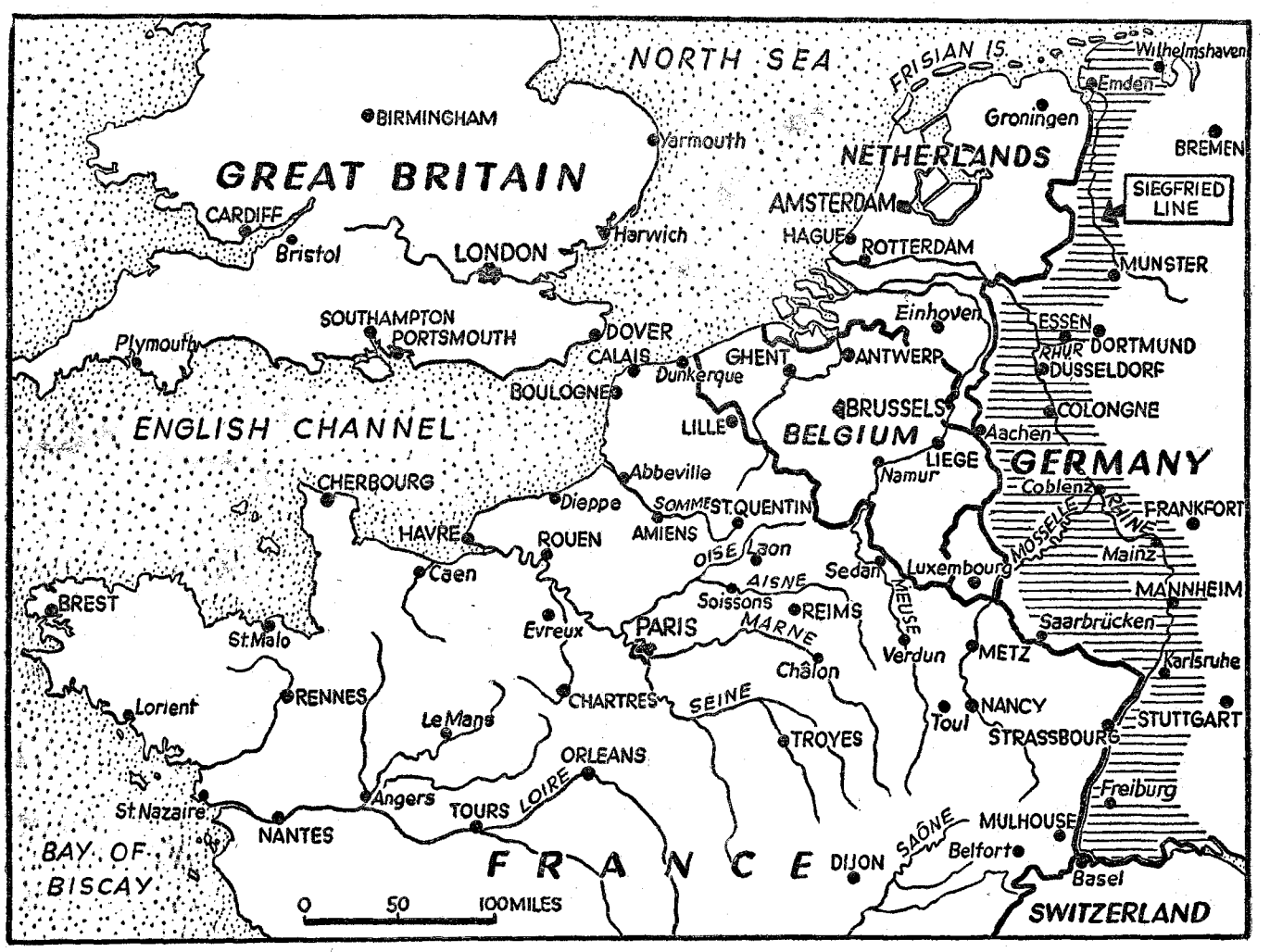
What Will the Nazis Do Next?

What the Nazis intend to do with this time is not clear. Maybe they need it to bring up reserves and organize the positions of the Siegfried Line. Perhaps they really have something up their sleeves in the line of gas or secret weapons. But the effect of such a strategy on the morale of troops, even those indoctrinated with Nazism, can hardly be altogether beneficial, particularly when these troops form part of the sacrificed units. This has shown up particularly in south France, where the number of prisoners is extraordinarily high, and it would not be surprising to see the northern campaign end in a rush of surrenders—not mass surrenders, but small units giving up as soon as they get out of touch with the nearest SS detachment.

Trouble in Italy

Meanwhile there are not wanting signs that the Germans in Italy have also overstayed their welcome. Two divisions of them apparently tried to get through the passes into south France—they beat back briefly some of our forces at Briançon. At the time, the lines in Italy were already under heavy attack and Marshal Kesselring had none too many men to hold them. One can only conclude that they were sent to Briançon on orders of the High Command—perhaps with the design of holding up Patch, but equally probable, with that of getting through to Belfort and holding the passes to Germany at what is now one of the weakest points.

They were stopped; and now they only add to the German concentration in northwest Italy at a time when the British Eighth Army shows signs of breaking



The Advance across North France

There are four main routes suitable for armies from north France into Germany. One runs by the Belfort Gap through Belfort and Mulhouse; one runs by way of Metz, Nancy and Saarbrücken; the third through Namur, Liége and Aachen and the fourth through Antwerp and Eindhoven across the high ground of south Holland. At the week's end, Allied forces had closed off two of these routes and were in a position to prevent the German armies in north France from using that through the Belfort Gap. The only remaining position on which the Germans could stand at all—and even this is extremely doubtful—would seem to be the Siegfried Line and the rivers of Holland.

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through to the Po Valley on the extreme eastern flank. If the Pesaro breakthrough is achieved, the scenes in north France are likely to be repeated, for much of Kesselring's force is still entangled in the mountains and once it frees itself it will have to make a retreat clear across a fighting front and along a line considerably longer than the Allies need to reach the Brenner Pass.

The point is that the difficulties in which the Nazi army now finds itself are due to the fundamental philosophy of Hitlerism, with its complete disregard for the individual as against what leaders conceive to be the temporary interest of the state.

George W. Norris

American liberalism has lost its greatest leader with the death of Senator George W. Norris. There is no such thing as an irreplaceable man, but here is one who will be sorely missed. His greatest monument is the Tennessee Valley Authority, but that is not the only one; the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, doing away with lame-duck sessions of Congress, the Norris anti-injunction law and dozens of other pieces of forward-looking legislation survive to carry on his memory.

One great lesson we can learn from Senator Norris' life is the power and value of integrity. He never compromised his principles, and yet he managed to survive in a world of practical men. Another lesson he has for us is that of nonpartisanship. Nominally a Republican, he had for many years supported what he felt to be good in government, whatever its origin. The New Deal had no more intelligent and powerful adherent than he throughout most of the years of its existence. To the last he retained the mental elasticity and the soaring imagination that we commonly think of as the qualities of youth; in this regard he seemed younger than many men sixty years his junior. He hoped for and believed in a greater America in the future than he had seen in the past. It remains for those who are left to do their utmost to bring that America into being.

The Murphy Affair

The appointment of Robert Murphy as political adviser to the Allied Forces Occupying Germany seems to us a major diplomatic blunder. President Roosevelt, who so often clings to the wrong men and lets the right ones go, is apparently responsible for this action. No one else would have chosen him. The State Department defends Murphy because it has to, but it dislikes his habit of going over Mr. Hull's head and appealing directly to the President. The British Foreign Office, which disagreed with him at every step in North Africa, doesn't like him. It is especially unfortunate that he should be taking the place of Ambassador William Phillips, an excellent man who is being forced out because of stating something absolutely true—that the British policy in India has done and will do harm to the success of our arms in the war against Japan.

Murphy, it will be remembered, is the relentless enemy of de Gaulle, who will certainly regard this appointment as a slap in the face. In his years at Paris and Vichy, Murphy was famous for hobnobbing exclusively with the extreme Right. He tried to force Giraud down the throats of the French, and failed. He brought Peyrouton from Argentina to be Governor General of Algiers, and Peyrouton is now likely to be tried as a collaborationist. He was a friend of Noguès, anti-Semitic Vichyite, who is now under house arrest. A protégé of Murphy was Pucheu, who was shot. Another was Boisson, who is under arrest. Murphy was largely responsible for our playing with Badoglio in Italy, a policy which completely failed. You can count on him to make friends with ultraconservative Germans of the sort who brought Hitler into power. As for liberal and democratic Germans, Murphy simply does not speak their language. His appointment will be read, all over the world, as notice that we intend to squelch firmly the aspirations of the German common people and inflict upon them a government roughly parallel in character to that of Vichy.

Zanuck as Propagandist

Now that Darryl Zanuck's movie, "Wilson," is being released throughout the country it becomes appropriate to say a word about its political significance, as distinct from its artistic value, which was thoroughly and effectively discussed by Manny Farber in our issue of August 14. It is obvious that Mr. Zanuck, among other purposes, hoped that the film would help to break down American isolationism and move the country toward coöperation in a new league of nations. We understand that interviewers stationed in the lobby who have talked with patrons on their way out after seeing the film, report a definite increase in coöperative spirit among the movie-goers, though how much reliance can actually be put on lobby interviews of this type, considering the notorious politeness and amiability of Americans in such circumstances, is open to question.

Most people by now are aware of the defects of this film: its distortion of history, its prettying up of Wilson's character, its very timid, high-school-girl approach to the realities of life during Wilson's two terms in office. Some of Mr. Zanuck's friends have argued that his good internationalist intentions ought to cause us to suspend judgment on the film's artistic and historical defects. These friends say that it was of great importance to have millions of people see it, and that they would not have done so if the film had tried to tell the whole truth, or had omitted its quality of picture-postcard prettiness and softness, its incessant

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roaring of popular songs. These friendly critics may be right; and whether they are or not, we are glad to salute Mr. Zanuck's good intentions, which have in this case placed him far outside the usual Hollywood boy-meets-girl vapidity. At the same time, we are not sure how much value there is in warming up internationalist spirit on such a football-rally basis. How long will it survive when the icy winds of international realism begin to blow?

Ethics in Washington

A few days ago there occurred an incident of no great importance except to the editors of The New Republic and to everyone else interested in the perennial subject of public ethics among journalists and statesmen.

In The New Republic dated August 21, we published an article by Sidney Hillman entitled "The Truth about the PAC." On August 17, United States Senator Hugh Butler wrote to The New Republic asking that we print an article by him replying to Mr. Hillman. The New Republic answered as follows:

> Dear Senator Butler: This is answering your letter of August 17. We most decidedly would not print an article by you on the subject of the PAC. We don't print any article with which we do not in general agree, and we strongly doubt whether you would give a fair presentation of the facts about the PAC.
>
> We are willing to print a communication from you on this subject if you care to write one. We assume no editorial responsibility for the contents of a communication, except that it must be reasonable in tone and not libelous. The normal length of a communication is 1,000 words, but in this case we would be willing to let you have a little more space, say 1,200 words, or about four double-spaced typewritten pages of pica type.

Enter now Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, who addressed the Senate on this subject and placed in The Congressional Record the article which Senator Butler had already prepared, without waiting for a reply from The New Republic. It appears on page A4071 of The Congressional Record for August 28, and as anyone can see who looks at it there, it is a bumbling piece of political invective for which no magazine editor in his senses, whatever his political views, would take responsibility. Senator Butler will be remembered as the man who made himself a national laughing stock by his criticism in The Reader's Digest last December of what he called our reckless extravagance in Latin America. It turned out that he was including in that reckless extravagance the cost of buying strategic raw materials there, expenditures in Puerto Rico, which is a part of the United States, and the entire cost of defending the Panama Canal.

Senator Bridges professed himself to be indignant over the action of the editors of The New Republic. He said:

> In hope of having both sides of an important issue presented, the Senator from Nebraska wrote to the editor of The New Republic requesting a chance to reply to Mr. Hillman. Not only did the editor deny the Senator from Nebraska this opportunity, but he did so with emphatic assertion that he was not interested in the other side of Hillman's views. Somehow, the Senator from Nebraska had always supposed The New Republic to be a liberal journal, jealous of its integrity, and devoted to the democratic principle of presenting all sides of important controversial issues. I see now I was mistaken.

We may pass over this curious last sentence, which suggests that Senator Butler had provided Senator Bridges with his material and that Senator Bridges had only imperfectly assimilated it. The point of interest is that Senator Bridges had the full text of the New Republic letter before him when he made the shockingly false statement given above.

Ethics in Journalism

The Associated Press sent out a story to its clients on the Bridges attack on The New Republic. With scrupulous fairness, the AP called up The New Republic and obtained a statement of the true facts, which it included in the Bridges story. At least one newspaper, The Los Angeles Times, printed the Bridges charge, but carefully cut out of the Associated Press dispatch the New Republic's answer. This was, by the way, a violation of Associated Press rules, which forbid member newspapers to edit AP copy in such a way as to distort a story. At least one other newspaper did the same thing. In a week or two, we shall publish some further details on this really striking example of dishonest journalism by part of the conservative press, and curious conduct by a United States Senator.

Legislation for Peace

Two groups of conferees representing the Senate and the House of Representatives are at work trying to reach an agreement on the provisions to be made for reconverting our war economy to peace and for disposing of our vast government-owned surpluses. The two Houses have passed very different bills covering both subjects, and the conference committees are having difficulty getting together.

The action which the House has taken both on reconversion and surplus disposal is astoundingly bad. The reconversion bill passed by the House is only a butchered version of the weak George bill which the Senate passed as a substitute for the Murray-Kilgore bill, which labor and progressive groups favored. It is a sorry choice before the conferees on reconversion. Three Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee which prepared the House bill have spoken out violently against it. Representatives Dingell of Michigan, Lynch of New York and Forand of Rhode Island, in a minority report, say that "the bill does not provide anything at all. . . . It does not assure a

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single unemployed individual one additional cent of benefits. . . . It is merely a skeleton of a bill that will fool no one." The Republicans stood solidly, again with conservative Democrats, for doing nothing to protect us against another period of unemployment and depression. And a few incautious Republicans like Knutson of Wisconsin and Gifford of Massachusetts made it clear that their objections to an adequate bill stemmed from the fact that they are opposed to the very principle of unemployment compensation, Republican platform promises to the contrary notwithstanding.

Surplus Disposal

With regard to surplus disposal, the conference committee has more with which to work. The Stewart-Murray bill passed by the Senate, as we have reported at length in previous issues, provides for fairly adequate safeguards on disposal policies. The advocates of the Senate bill, rather than the blank-check Colmer bill passed by the House, are very hopeful that the Senate conferees will win out on the major points involved in the compromise. Public opposition to the present policies of Surplus Property Administrator Will Clayton is growing so rapidly that the progressive pressure groups in Washington are increasingly hopeful that Clayton will lose his job in the reorganization which will follow final passage of surplus-property-disposal legislation by Congress. Meanwhile there is general approval of the action of War Mobilization Director Byrnes in establishing an inter-agency War Plants Utilization Committee to deal with immediate reconversion problems.

Alexis Carrel

Like many other gifted scientists and technicians, the world-famous physiologist, Alexis Carrel, had a penchant for social thinking that was at once obscurantist philosophically and reactionary, to say the least, politically. This did not prevent the American public in 1935 from making a best-seller of his preposterous "Man the Unknown," although there were a few dissenting notes to the chorus of praise, including a New Republic reviewer who pointed out that the book was an example of fascist *mystique* whose true hero was Mussolini. Carrel, who returned to France in 1939, has just been discharged from the Vichy-created Foundation for the Study of Human Relations, by the new French Minister of Health. That Carrel's theories could have been received with respect for so long shows how deep the receptivity to fascist ideas runs in the democracies as well as in the dictatorships. His subsequent career serves as warning that we should examine with extreme care the social and political pronouncements of scientists, however respectable their institutional connections and however great their professional achievements.

From Warsaw to Paris

WHILE the military victories of the Allied armies in Eastern and Western Europe presage an early end of the war against Germany, and while the diplomatic discussions at Dumbarton Oaks promise at least some sort of agreement on the future world peace structure before the war is over, political developments inside Europe, both underground and liberated, are less propitious for the pacification of a restless continent.

Symptoms are increasing that the peoples of Europe have become political footballs for the great powers. The attitude of the Anglo-American bloc on the one hand, and of the Soviet Union on the other, toward the underground and liberation movements are blatantly equivocal. They are not determined by the hopes and aspirations of Europe's frankly revolutionary masses, but rather by the competing power considerations of the great powers.

There can be no doubt that the people of Poland and France, for instance, pinned great hopes on the victories of the Allied armies in their respective countries. The fact that the uprisings of the underground in Warsaw and Paris almost coincided with the entry of Allied troops into these cities is substantial proof of this. But, at the same time, the fact that both uprisings came prematurely suggests that the people of Warsaw and Paris were apprehensive about the intentions of their foreign liberators. Whatever additional reasons may have existed for the two revolts—increasing Gestapo pressure on the underground or false signals—the uprisings were to a large extent motivated by the desire of the citizens to take their fate into their own hands.

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

First Aid

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This is particularly true of the Warsaw uprising. Perhaps no event in the long history of Polish-Soviet misunderstandings during the present war, not even the Alter-Ehrlich affair, has been more tragic. The accusations and counter-accusations, freely bandied about by both sides, only added to the existing confusion. They were picked up by partisans of both sides abroad. The truth of the matter is that very little is known about what really happened. It is quite likely that the signal for the Warsaw revolt was given in the absence of proper liaison with the Russian command. It is equally likely that the Russians, for precisely the same political reasons which prompted the Polish Government-in-Exile to give the signal to revolt, abstained from coming to the aid of the revolting Poles. The action of both governments in the Warsaw episode is exactly what might have been expected in view of their hostile relations throughout the war, but especially after the breakdown of negotiations between the Government-in-Exile and the Soviet-sponsored Polish Committee of National Liberation in early August.

What happened in Warsaw might have easily happened in Paris. Something obviously went wrong there. Two circumstances prevented a similar disaster. First, the last-minute agreement, on the eve of the invasion, between the French Committee of National Liberation and Great Britain and the United States, making possible the inclusion of the French Forces of the Interior in the Allied army under General Eisenhower, committed the invading armies to come to the aid of the FFI. Such an agreement did not exist in the Warsaw debacle. Second, the French underground, in contrast to the Polish, is united in spite of some ideological differences between various groups. All French resistance groups recognize de Gaulle and his committee. The Polish underground, on the other hand, is split. Not only those groups which support the Soviet-sponsored Committee of National Liberation, but the ones which support the exiled government are in disagreement. This is because of the fact that Poland, in contrast to all other countries under the Nazi heel, has a rightist resistance movement.

The liberation of Paris by the French themselves, even though it required outside help, is the final justification for the need, if not the advantage, of arming the entire European underground. Such arming has been long resisted by the great powers. Just as the Soviet Union, for political reasons, has refused to arm the Polish underground or to grant bases to Great Britain and the United States from which they might send weapons into Nazi-held Poland, so the Anglo-American bloc hesitated for a long time before arming the French resistance movement. Their failure, up to now, to send weapons to the patriotic forces in Northern Italy does not differ in any respect from the Soviet Union's attitude toward the Polish underground. The Warsaw uprising might have succeeded if the underground had been properly armed. Well equipped partisan forces in Northern Italy might be of invaluable military aid to the Allied armies attacking the Gothic Line.

The neglect of the great powers to arm the underground is calculated. It is intended to make the European peoples pawns in the game of power politics. But it cannot, and does not, conceal their anxiety that the peoples of Europe may want a peace which differs from the armed armistice that would result from the division of the world into four imperialistic spheres of influence. Such a "peace" would be based on the erroneous assumption that each great power, dominating its own sphere of influence, will mind its own business in that area. Fortunately, there is little hope for this scheme. The recent Moscow radio broadcast, appealing to the Spanish people to oust the fascist regime of General Franco and to break with Germany so as "to gain a place for Spain among the democratic and freedom-loving nations," must have come as a distinct shock to Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt, who until now seem to have considered Spain to lie outside of the Russian orbit. This incident is only a preview of what would happen if the great powers had their way.

While Mr. Churchill has given a warning to the people of Italy not to "fall into the clutches of the Fascist totalitarian system in any guise in which it might present itself," it is doubtful that Europe's underground and liberation movements will look upon England as their leader in the coming struggle for a just and lasting peace. Rather it is France which is rapidly emerging as their guiding spirit. The swiftness with which the French Committee of National Liberation has been transformed to include underground leaders suggests that the new France will be built on a genuinely democratic basis, giving the lie to the allegation that General de Gaulle is seeking personal power in postwar France. There can be no doubt that a leftist France will be more appealing to the peoples of Europe than a conservative Britain or a dictatorial Russia.

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Unemployment Ahead

I. *A Warning to the Washington Expert*

HAPPILY, we are entering upon a time when the end of the war in Europe is in sight. Each day's newspaper makes this more and more clear, but its real imminence was only brought home to me by a recent trip to Washington, the first in a year. Everywhere I went I could smell cuts in war production; in the corridors of the Social Security Building, where WPB dollar-a-year men are still a dime a dozen; in the sweltering "temporaries," where OPA dignitaries hide; and the scent had even penetrated the marbled tabernacle of the Federal Reserve Board.

Already estimates are being prepared for important production slashes in the last quarter of 1944, with even more drastic ones to follow. Necessarily, most of the forecasts are confidential in character, but even without access to inside information, one can plausibly guess that cuts in munitions production of from 25 to 50 percent are in the offing, once the victory in Europe is clearly assured. Nor need such assurance wait upon the actual complete defeat of the enemy. With the momentum of the Red Army in the East matched by our own forces in France, even the armed services will be forced to admit the inexpediency of starting and continuing production which cannot conceivably be available in time for effective use. Because of the extraordinary weakness of the Luftwaffe, in all but a few strategic lines production and stockpiles are ahead of requirements. Advisedly or inadvisedly, the army has deliberately chosen to concentrate public attention upon the shortages in heavy trucks, air-borne radar and heavy bombers for fear that production will slacken as a result of overconfidence. The recent resignation of Bassie and Kaplan from the WPB in protest against army censorship and emphasis simply brings out into the open a struggle that has been going on for some time between the conflicting points of view of Donald Nelson and General Brehon B. Somervell on the necessity for early steps toward reconversion. If the war goes as well as official circles now expect it to, in a very short time the Somervell forces will have to yield, if only because the stuff is piling up too rapidly. But in the meanwhile precious time will have been lost.

The situation is complicated by entrepreneurial jockeying for competitive position in postwar markets. Even more than workers, management is becoming edgy as the end of the war draws near. In some important industries, firms are not striving with the same old aggressiveness for new war contracts in the fear that they will be left behind in the reconversion race. "Business as usual" had serious consequences in the defense period; it may be no less harmful in the months ahead.

Cuts seem most likely in the fields of ground equipment, aircraft production and the merchant marine. By emphasizing the maritime character of the Pacific war, the navy may succeed in staving off reductions in ship construction. Weighing all factors, we shall probably not go far wrong if we estimate about a 40-percent slash.

A 40-percent cut in war production should not be interpreted as a reduction of 40 percent in the current $90 billion annual rate of expenditure on war. Only part of this sum is spent on munitions and related ordnance; the rest, which involves pay for soldiers, subsistence and maintenance, etc., is about one-third of the total. Nevertheless, a cut of 40 percent in munitions expenditure would involve a drop in production of about $25 billion per year, reckoned as an annual rate. In real terms this is about equivalent to one-fifth the peak prewar level of output; or to more than one-tenth of present wartime levels. Perhaps the significance of this sum can be appreciated if we recall that it is only slightly less than the drop of consumption from the peak of the boom of the twenties to the bottom of the trough of the Great Depression.

Such a cut will not imply a full 10-percent reduction in the present labor force of some 63 millions, but it will mean a loss in the high-productivity jobs which we can least afford to forfeit. If we add as well what is a fairly conservative estimate, that some two million soldiers will be demobilized during the one-front Japanese war, we may begin to anticipate unemployment or underemployment of around five million men. And that is not yet the end of the story. Every time a man becomes *employed* in depression times, he brings into employment with him, as a result of his spending of income, one or two other men. This is the so-called "multiplier" doctrine, that bit of glorified common sense which economists of all schools now largely recognize.

But the knife can cut in both ways. When employment is curtailed, *the multiplier goes into reverse,* and each man thrown out of employment takes others with him. There are reasons to expect that the multiplier will not in the months ahead attain its usual magnitude because autonomous private consumption and investment will expand, but nevertheless these secondary effects are of too great importance to be neglected. Finally, and these tertiary effects can be most disas-

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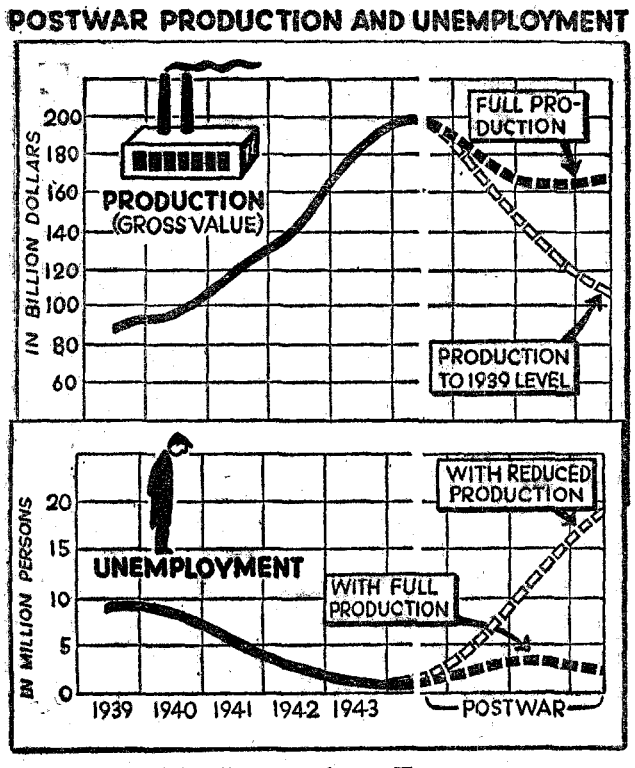
trous of all, if ever a serious decline gets well under way, panic on the part of consumers and producers may become widespread, in which case the downward spiral of employment and income could become precipitous. Again, there are reasons to doubt that the last eventuality will materialize in its full virulence. Still, it is a contingency which policy makers will neglect only at their peril, or rather only at the nation's peril.

Once aquainted with the above facts, any reasonably well informed layman, even though it is not his concern to anticipate future economic developments, will instantly recognize that a serious storm is on the horizon. If we can expect this from the amateur, what can we presume to be the view of the professional Washington economist, the full-time expert with all of the statistical resources of the government at his disposal, the experienced executive whose official responsibility it is to foresee and forestall by appropriate policy measures all threats to our prosperity? Surely he has an elaborate set of plans, ready to go into effect the moment the emergency arises. Or at least he must be working frantically to make good the deficiency before the zero hour is upon us. Unfortuately, this is not the case.

The experts have not perceived the magnitude of the storm ahead. The executive branch of the government does not have even a normal year's amount of public works in a processed form ready to go into quick operation. The Washington economist is not now devising sufficient measures to relieve or reduce unemployment. His digestion is good, and at night he experiences no nightmares.

The above remarks require qualification. It is not true that the Washington economist is completely without worry. If you press him, he will admit that he is concerned about the winter of 1951 when the backlog of deferred demand for automobiles and helicopters will have spent itself. Or if he is of a lachrymose disposition and the weather is gray, he may push up the date to the spring of 1948. But because he is fairly confident of the intermediate period following reconversion, he quite naturally is not alarmed about the demobilization period, but only concerned to lessen by policy action the incidence of the purely technical delays in reconversion.

This is the strange phenomenon of our times. The academic economist who only yesterday was preaching the imminence of secular stagnation and the need for governmental offsets to saving, who scoffed at the naïve notion that a little bit of spending would cut the vicious spiral of depression and "permit" the economic system to carry forward in perpetuity on its own steam —this same individual today is worrying lest purchasing power privately created in the postwar period be greater than even peaks of wartime production can fill. Mind you, it is not of dollar-a-year men I speak; in some instances these have had a healthy restraining influence upon the economists' soaring imaginations. If one goes out into the country, it becomes only too obvious that the business man in general is skeptical concerning the possibility of expanding his own plant's production to the point which he is told is necessary if we are to avoid widespread unemployment. No, the men I have in mind are in many cases New Dealers, known in the past for their immunity to the speculative fevers of the moment.



A Glimpse of the Future

The chart above, which is redrawn with slight modifications from one in The Federal Reserve Bulletin, shows what may happen after victory if we do not manage somehow to maintain a high level of productivity. The top part shows the curve of production if we were to go back to the 1939 level. The lower part of the chart shows the unemployment that may be expected if production falls off to the degree indicated.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. It has been said that the last war was the chemist's war and that this one is the physicist's. It might equally be said that this is an economist's war. Especially in the business-as-usual period, but equally since, the Washington economist, whether recruited from the permanent civil service or from academic life, has done an excellent job, either in comparison with reasonable expectations or in comparison with business executives who have been called to the government service. At a time when the term bureaucracy is anathema, it is well to emphasize that no administration in history has commanded the services of men of equal zeal, honesty or competence.

Perhaps I am creating a misleading impression of the power of the economist when it comes to policy matters. Largely, he is the hewer of wood who provides the factual and analytic background for decisions

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arrived at by higher officials. His ideas are not without influence, but they become of influence not so much on their abstract merits as because they happen to fall in with the "realities" of the immediate situation. But despite this inevitable selective process, the significance of ideas should not be discounted. The current gospel of the Committee for Economic Development derives in obvious and obscure ways from the analysis of the Washington economist. The present mad rush to forgive taxes for the purpose of encouraging "venture capital" stems in part from the academic discussions of the past decade. All of these are rationalizations, yes; but they have a force in their own right too.

Nevertheless, or perhaps because of his successful wartime preoccupation with scarcity of supplies, shortages of manpower and resources, excesses of purchasing power and inflationary gaps, the Washington economist has for the moment lost his perspective concerning the immediate postwar problem. Because he responds quickly, I have every confidence that he will snap out of his dream when the true facts become apparent.

The Washington economist lives in a world frequented by his own kind. I know, for I have lived in that happy world. When he hears that someone else has arrived at the same optimistic estimate as his own, he takes this to be independent corroboration of the truth of his view instead of realizing that it is simply the reflection of his own last week's expression of opinion. This process of mutual infection and amplification of opinion is cumulative and self-aggravating, so no wonder his conviction grows without bound.

Recently a representative of an investment-counseling house made a rather careful estimate of the effects of the end of the European war. Among other things, he concluded that income payments might fall from $150 billions to $110 billions if something were not done about it. He showed this to his business friends and they were universal in thinking that his estimates were far too optimistic. He proceeded to Washington to get the benefit of the government experts' criticisms. Everywhere he went, with one minor exception, he received the horse-laugh for being so pessimistic. At one place he was told, "Why, you talk like Leon Henderson, who thinks there will be eight million unemployed. Actually, when you allow for resource evaporation [a polite name for disguised unemployment and lowered productivity], even transitional unemployment will be nominal." I may add that Henderson is not regarded as "an economist's economist." Perhaps at the moment that is his strength and salvation.

PAUL A. SAMUELSON

This is the first of two articles. The second will be published in an early issue. – THE EDITORS

Plans for a New France

WITH THE LIBERATION of Paris and the ousting of the Germans from large areas of French territory by the Allies and the French Forces of the Interior, General de Gaulle and the Provisional Government are meeting the most serious test of their ability to lead France back to a semblance of social and political equilibrium during the months that will precede the holding of the first regular elections. How well have they met the test so far? What problems will confront them in the future? What provisions have they made to meet them?

Let it be said at the outset that, owing to the close contacts which the Provisional Government has kept with the Underground leaders, the reëstablishment of authority in liberated French territory is proceeding with remarkable smoothness. As soon as a village or town is liberated—often, even before—the local resistance committee arrests the collaborationist officials who have not fled, assigns their posts to men with clean records and sets to work restoring order and administering relief in coöperation with the Allied Civil Affairs officials. The French Forces of the Interior, which were given the same status as the soldiers of the regular forces by the Provisional Government, besides harassing the enemy and cutting his communications, are lending the resistance leaders invaluable assistance. Their handling of the purge has been, on the whole, restrained, and they have done much to prevent mob violence from venting itself against Vichyites. The irresponsible elements among them are being gradually eliminated and discipline tightened by the inclusion of the various groups into units of the French army.

After the restoration of authority, the most urgent task confronting the Provisional Government was that of feeding and relieving the distressed population. In November, 1943, the French Committee of National Liberation (as it was then called) initiated conversations on this subject with the government of the United States.

Agreement was reached on a six-months' relief plan providing for the delivery by the United States of 2,500,000 metric tons of goods, half of the deliveries to consist of foodstuffs, the remainder, of medicines, clothing, seeds and fertilizer. The supplies are procured and delivered to France by the Allied Military Authorities, and paid for and distributed by the French Provisional Government, which undertakes, as well, to furnish 500,000 metric tons of supplies from the African colonies. To date, the coöperation between the French and their allies has been excellent. Food and

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relief have reached the bombed-out populations promptly. Supplementing the six-months' plan, a three-year plan for restarting French economic life is in preparation. According to the broad outlines which have already been laid out, the United States would supply France with raw materials, industrial and transportation equipment at an estimated cost of $2 billion, to be paid out of French funds frozen abroad.

It is fair to say that the Provisional Government has, so far, more than justified its existence, and there is certainly no question that the people have taken General de Gaulle to their hearts. His triumphal march through Paris and his reception in other cities leave no doubt on that score. But his leadership has yet to be put to its most serious test. The government which he heads is, for the present, accepted by the Underground leaders because they know that provision has been made to include the most capable among them, at a future date. But it is no secret that not all the members of the Provisional Government seem to them qualified to play a leading role in the reconstruction of France and that a few, because of their ideas, are deemed quite unfit. The test of de Gaulle's leadership, then, will be his ability to identify himself with those elements which aspire to rebuild France boldly, without destroying any of the elements that contribute to her moral stature: her respect for the individual, her cult of reason, her genius for the universal. But the reform must be bold. Of that most Underground leaders are sure. If, in the praiseworthy intention of reconciling Frenchmen, de Gaulle should allow himself to champion a policy of half measures, he would soon find himself irremediably shelved. And the effect on France of any attempt to compromise, in the mistaken belief that all men must be pleased at all times, would be very grave. For the most energetic elements among the advocates of change might be tempted to impose by force remedies far more radical than those originally contemplated.

What is it that the Frenchmen who envisage the future boldly want to do? What sort of France do they want to create?

One word recurs throughout the articles of the underground publications: Revolution. But the term is used in the sense of complete renovation rather than of a systematic break with the past. Now, less than ever, do the French want to break with their past. A return to basic traditions is, on the contrary, considered indispensable to the moral health of France. The disaster of 1940 has not cast doubt on the validity of certain values which were the touchstones of French spiritual life. The notion of liberty, which is founded on faith in reason, of equality, which presupposes respect for the individual, and of fraternity, which is but another aspect of the French genius for the universal, are still fundamental notions to the Frenchmen who are preparing "tomorrows that sing." In their minds, the Third Republic failed, not because it entertained such notions, but because it did not sufficiently cherish them. So that, in the last analysis, the problem of French reconstruction presents itself, first and foremost, as a moral problem.

It is natural that among the schemes of reconstruction, first place should be given to education. Perhaps the most shocking fact brought to light by the defeat of 1940 was the bankruptcy of the elite whose task it was to unite the nation morally. When the crisis came, it was discovered that Frenchmen, in key positions, thought, not as citizens of France, but as members of groups. The sabotage of the French war effort by the Communists during the period of the "phony" war is a case in point. The threat of a Communist revolution brandished by General Weygand over the heads of the bewildered Ministers to frighten them into suing for an armistice, is another. Little wonder that, with defeat impending, the "honor" of the group did not necessarily coincide with the honor of France.

The Underground projects for the reform of education are not detailed—they cannot be. But their suggestions are none the less valuable. What they propose is, briefly, the abolition of the "caste" schools that divided the upper from the lower bourgeoisie and the working class, and the institution of a program of studies placing the emphasis on the development of a student's understanding of human problems, of his awareness of the traditions that contribute to his country's spiritual greatness and of the civic duties that he must discharge in order to preserve these traditions.

The same concern for a moral renovation is apparent in the reforms proposed for the press. Acting in concert with the journalists of the Underground, the French Provisional Government has already promulgated a number of decrees, the purpose of which is to free the press from the control of individual and group interests, as well as from the interference of foreign governments in the conduct of national policy. It is well known that, before the outbreak of the war, a great number of newspapers were the paid instruments of pressure groups and the vehicles of Nazi-fascist fifth-column activities. No public figure was safe from the campaigns of calumny which certain private interests might see fit to conduct against him. The new decrees represent an attempt to correct this condition. Other provisions relate to the distribution of news and publicity by coöperatives owned by the several newspapers.

The execution of these measures has been much easier to realize in Paris, where the Vichy press was simply swept out of existence and its plants turned over to the formerly clandestine newspapers, than it has been in Algiers, where the spirit of Vichy is still entrenched. But the interests that thrived under the

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old system have not said their last word and we shall no doubt continue to hear great outcries about violation of the freedom of the press from the very men who once so effectively controlled it for their own ends.

Given a system of education designed to create greater unanimity among Frenchmen regarding their moral and civic responsibilities, and a press purged and freed for the task of educating them politically, what reforms are contemplated in the democratic structure itself?

Actually, no profound changes of structure are envisaged by the Underground writers. They justly feel that the failure of the Republic in 1940 was due to its vicious political mores rather than to any grave defects in its organization. Indeed, anyone who has followed French political life during the last 25 years is aware that democracy in France had almost ceased to exist. The tyranny exercised by the party machine over its members and the pressures exerted by various private interests were such that government—much less responsible government—had become well-nigh impossible.

In an attempt to remedy this state of affairs, several Underground groups which include men who would have been labeled before the war Socialist, Radical-Social, Communist or Conservative Republican have formed a movement, called Liberation Nationale, which will discuss political problems "on their own merits," as it were, rather than from entrenched doctrinal positions.

There is one grave weakness in the French parliamentary system, however, which all authorities agree can, and should, be corrected by legislation, and that is the instability of the executive. In order to put an end to the parade of cabinets that disgraced parliamentary activity in France before the war, the Underground proposes that a vote of no confidence in the cabinet shall be accompanied by the dissolution of the Chamber and the holding of new elections. On the whole, the tendency seems to be toward strengthening the executive at the expense of the legislative branch, which is conceived of as a "comptroller" rather than as an initiator of legislation.

And now, what of the social and economic structure of the new France? The men of the Underground will tell you that they did not go through four years of hell so that the same few might go on exploiting the same many, and that France might continue to be the happy hunting ground of those who put private before national interests. In his speech of March 18, 1944, before the Provisional Consultative Assembly, General de Gaulle, reflecting this state of mind, said: "The French democracy must be a social democracy, that is, a democracy that will ensure to everyone the right to work in freedom, that will guarantee the dignity and security of all through an economic system planned with a view to developing our national resources, and which will not be to the advantage of private interests. In this system, the great sources of national wealth will belong to the nation, and the direction and control of this wealth by the state will be undertaken with the assistance both of those who work and those who give work." It is safe to say that the attacks which, for the last two years, have been directed against General de Gaulle were directed through him against this program.

I am sorry that I cannot give the details of a ten-year-plan which has been worked out in London by André Duprat, a French industrialist, in coöperation with technicians of the Underground and which has won wide approval. Only the barest outline has been wired to this country. The program envisioned provides for ownership by the state and administration *under state supervision* (the distinction is important) of the sources of power (mines, oil, waterpower, etc.), of public utilities (light, transportation, telecommunications, etc.) and of institutions of public utility (banks, insurance companies, etc.); private ownership under strict state supervision of industries vital to national defense (steel works, the automotive industry, etc.), private ownership without state supervision of the smaller industries (glove-making, "industries de luxe," etc.).

Critics of this plan (some disinterested, some not so disinterested) are quick to point out that it paves the way for state socialism, with its unwieldy bureaucracy detrimental alike to efficiency and to the spirit of private enterprise. I believe such fears to be wholly unfounded. For what is contemplated is not the administration of the utilities by the officials of government agencies. What is planned is the creation for each of the utilities concerned of a "public corporation" (as the British call it) on whose board would sit public officials, technicians, consumers and representatives of capital and labor, democratically designated, precisely in order to avoid state socialism or *"étatisme."* Those who are alarmed by what they call "interference of the state in private affairs" forget that, in a Europe whose economic life has been wrecked by four years of war and Nazi occupation, the task of reconstruction cannot be left to the uncoördinated initiative of private enterprise.

These are the problems that confront General de Gaulle and the Provisional Government as they set foot in a France about to be liberated.

The freshness of the solutions proposed is a sign of the intellectual and moral vigor of the nation which has just been invited to Dumbarton Oaks to sit as the fifth great power in belated but welcome acknowledgement of her spiritual rebirth from the ashes of defeat.

ANDRÉ MESNARD

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White Foam Breaking

Hearing that he is dead
all I can think of
is the white foam breaking
over the spillway
and the lights in the hills

Who are these boys and girls reading by these lights
what lessons are they studying?

After forty years in the Congress of the United States
George Norris died simply a citizen
and in the Senate seat
which he had made more feared by the strong few
more loved by the weak many
than ever a Senate seat before
sat a small-town undertaker
destroying his work like a weevil in the good wheat

Nebraska
thanks for forty years of George Norris
who nourished the spirit of all this land
as your wheat the growing bodies of our children
How you must feel today
Nebraska
we know
who have also struck down blindly
the ones who loved us
and when it was too late
repented

Nebraska your treeless earth
spreads level to the sky's edge
your golden grain upturned to the sun and the blue
it's a long, long way from here
to Tennessee's hills
the rain-blackened cabins in the coves
the thin corn clinging to the slopes
the haggard children
the white water of the rushing streams

What is Tennessee to us?
you said
We want a man who will work for Nebraska
first last and all the time

George Norris grew too big for you
Nebraska
Your great plains bred a vision
vast as themselves and as bountiful

The hills and the plains
are one earth
George Norris saw
and the people of both
one nation indivisible

Omaha Lincoln McCook and Grand Forks
the neighbor up the block
or beside the windmill whirling on the far horizon
are Nebraska you said
and when the Sheriff came to seize Jim's farm
you grabbed the pitchfork and went over

But when the people of Prague
of Warsaw Paris Athens Kharkov
wept in the streets as the hobnails rang on their cobbles
George Norris grabbed his pitchfork

Perhaps you understand him better
Nebraska
now that the neighbor up the block
or beside the windmill whirling on the far horizon
has a gold star in his parlor window

I intend to do as much as I can . . .
George Norris said
the old man of 83
with the young heart
You tried to break it Nebraska
but it was too big for you
you were in it
but it had room for all the rest of us besides

He is gone
the simple citizen who marched at the head of us
but the march goes on
gathering the people from every street
every house that we pass
from the churches and colleges
from the farms and factories
from the tall buildings of cities
from ships in the harbors
from the plains and the hills

We march toward that America
which sleeps in the seeds he planted and others before
him
as sure to grow
as wheat on Nebraska plains

He is dead
but the white foam breaks
over the spillway
and the lights in the hills
come on

JOHN BEECHER

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Latin American Balance Sheet

I. *Why a Good Neighbor?*

Recent developments in Argentina demonstrate the tremendous importance to the United States of our relations with Latin America. The article below is the first of a series of four, by a well known expert on this subject, analyzing credits and liabilities at the present stage of our good-neighbor policy. – THE EDITORS

DURING THE LONG ARMISTICE, 1918-39, the American people misguidedly saw boundaries and shorelines as walls dividing the world's affairs into tight compartments. War is teaching us that our interests extend deep into Europe and Asia, but we still have not fully realized how they reach in on us. A dangerous carry-over is the popular idea that New World affairs are something apart, carried on within a sort of fence around the Western Hemisphere.

Nothing could be more misleading. Latin America, long coveted by ambitious outside powers, has been at all times an important pawn in the big play going on in the world at large. The present United States program there has two main reasons for being and both rest squarely on this.

We have to build there a bulwark to secure the New World permanently from politico-economic or military assault through its "soft underside." We have the immediate need to get from these near sources every possible aid in the war against Germany and Japan.

These add up to one main purpose—defense. Our defense interest in Latin America has been fully recognized ever since Monroe set up the "Hands Off" sign in 1826. By 1930, when postwar cutthroat trade competition had spilled the Great Depression into our laps and the Second World War was germinating, Latin America had become tremendously important to us economically. Half our direct foreign investments, one-fourth of our indirect investments and one-fourth of our foreign-trade area was there.

Bare-faced imperialism in the Caribbean area had been turning Latin America against us for a generation. High tariffs in 1930 and 1932 cut them out of our market and left many countries gasping economically. When we swept in a new administration to pick up the pieces of our shattered national affairs in 1932, Latin America was seething with opposition to us.

The change in our policy for Latin America in 1933, far from being merely a gracious gesture on our part, was dictated by the urgent necessity to rescue important political and economic interests there. Every one of the many steps we have taken in the name of the good-neighbor policy since then has been dictated by this same need.

In 1933 our pledge of equality of treatment and non-intervention promised that we would correct imperialistic mistakes. The Hull trade-agreements program rescued both political and economic interests. As these fence-building measures took effect, trade and political relations picked up. When they met in Buenos Aires in 1936, leaders of the American republics had smoothed over family differences to the point of agreeing to stand together against outside threats. The German and Japanese drives for power were clicking along and it was not a day too soon. At Lima in 1938, they agreed to consult and act together when threats against hemisphere safety materialized.

By 1938, the United States had set aside the Platt Amendment, corrected other political inequalities and made trade treaties with most Latin American countries. Meanwhile Germany and Japan, with no comparable errors to correct, had pushed far ahead with commercial and propaganda campaigns to set themselves up as good friends in Latin American thinking. As we led a parade of statesmen toward political cooperation against outside threats, they undermined the whole structure by working directly for the favor of the people.

In 1938, we took two timid steps to counteract this. With congressional authority, an Inter-Departmental Committee for Coöperation with the American Republics was set up. No appropriation was made for it, and whatever was done had to be squeezed out of regular appropriations for various departments. A Division of Cultural Relations was set up within the State Department and a modest program of scholar-exchange was authorized. At this time, Germany and Japan, as well as Britain, France and Italy had for nearly a decade been spending millions yearly on cultural-relations programs abroad.

Before much could be done, war broke out in Europe. As they lost Continental markets, Latin American nations underwent severe economic strains. When France fell, up to 40 percent of Latin America's foreign commerce, on which the area absolutely depends for life, vanished. Nazi political machines, deeply embedded everywhere, threatened to stir economic danger into political chaos. In late May, 1940, the situation in southern Latin America was so threatening that the United States had to speed cruisers to Montevideo harbor.

The American republics agreed to meet again in emergency consultation. Meanwhile, the United States began to get to work shoring up the leaky hemisphere bulwark. On July 21, 1940, the day the Havana meet

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ing opened, President Roosevelt asked Congress to increase the lending power of the Export-Import Bank from $200 to $700 million and give it authority to work for economic defense of the hemisphere through widened Latin American operations. Next an official government agency, the Office of the Coördinator of Cultural and Commercial Relations between the American Republics, was set up to organize United States resources, public and private, for a war against enemy politico-economic penetration in Latin America.

The Latin American Inter-Departmental Committee had belatedly been granted an appropriation of $292,000 in December, 1939, most of it to go for a Department of Agriculture project to help Latin American countries start growing non-competitive crops. This was to give them something more to sell us, so they could buy more from us. In mid-1940, the committee was granted an additional $250,000.

The Export-Import Bank had been created in 1934 to help revive United States industry and farming by financing foreign sales of our products. From 1938 on, it had been making loans to facilitate the Latin American purchase of our goods. American private business and banking does not give favorable credit terms to Latin America, so the Bank's function was an important one. Before war broke in Europe one double-purpose loan was made—$5 million to Haiti for a public-works program that stabilized her economic position while permitting her to buy United States goods and services. After 1939, money was loaned to Brazil to buy United States ships taken out of European service, and this had a political as well as a strictly commercial aspect. After the invasion of the Lowlands, a general exchange shortage threatened Latin America. Commitments to national banks helped importers start switching to United States sources of supply and strengthened currencies everywhere. But the sums involved remained comparatively small.

In September, 1940, the Export-Import Bank received $500 million for "the development of the resources, the stabilization of the economies and the orderly marketing of the products of the Western Hemisphere." In 1941, Cuba, Colombia, Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, the Dominican Republic and Paraguay got credits for development programs which, while absorbing United States goods and services, also helped relieve economic stress caused by war. At the suggestion of an American adviser, Haiti set up a semi-official company and got an Export-Import loan to help finance her attempt to diversify the national economy.

In 1941 and 1942, important loans to rush the Pan American and other strategic highways were made. A loan to Brazil to help finance expansion of steel production set a precedent in 1941. This credit was increased after Pearl Harbor. Development projects similar to the one in Haiti were worked out with both Bolivia and Ecuador.

It should be emphasized that after Pearl Harbor our program in Latin America took on, in addition to the bulwark-building purpose, that of getting all aid in our war against the Axis. In 1942 and 1943 loans backed new highways, rail improvements, plants and other productive enterprises that contributed directly to our effort to get the last ton possible of strategic supplies for our war effort. From late 1943 on through 1944, Latin American attention began to turn back toward long-term developmental projects.

Any Latin American lending immediately recalls the great postwar splurge by private financiers that ended in defaults and broken hearts when the inflation collapsed. The Export-Import Bank program is widely different.

In the 1920-29 period, Latin American countries borrowed $1,503,584,099 through government or government-guaranteed issues in the United States. The total of all moneys advanced by the Export-Import Bank on loans to Latin American countries through August 7, 1944, came to $243,318,903. Of this $116,403,239 has been repaid, leaving outstanding at the end of ten years of operations the sum of $126,915,664. All loans are current, meaning that no interest or capital repayments are past due.

The official agency for Latin American affairs, set up under Nelson Rockefeller's direction in August, 1940, was allotted $375,000 from the President's Emergency Fund for its administrative expenses, and $3,050,000 for projects in fact-finding, radio, the press, motion pictures, travel, sport, art, music and education. Aims of the cultural-relations program were four: (1) to find out what Latin Americans were thinking about us and, if possible, why; (2) to get a complete picture of the Axis propaganda program; (3) to improve the quantity and quality of the news reports, radio broadcasts and films going from here to Latin America; and (4) to make Latin America better known to the American general public.

Early publicity about movie stars and good-will tours to Latin America—some of them painfully unsuccessful—spotlighted the cultural-relations side of the agency's work at first. One of its most important activities in the commercial field could not be made public, since it was a quiet investigation of Axis business firms' role as espionage and propaganda agents in Latin America. After war cut off home sources, Axis importers switched to United States sources of supply, keeping their pro-Nazi network alive. The Rockefeller office reported this to American manufacturers and obtained many voluntary cancellations of contract. The proclamation of the official black list in July, 1941, was the culmination of almost a year of work on this problem in coöperation with the State Department.

By early 1941, the office was at work on seven emergency measures for economic defense. They were programs (1) to increase imports from Latin America,

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especially of strategic materials; (2) to determine what loans would best serve hemisphere interests, in cooperation with the Export-Import Bank and the Treasury; (3) to see that Latin American importers got a fair share of essential goods; (4) to see that enough ships stayed on the Latin American run and that costs did not go too high; (5) to keep Nazis in Latin America from using American business connections for their own advantage; (6) to set up a Merchandise Advisory Service to tell Latin American producers what our standards and tastes are; (7) to study the needs, habits and tastes of Latin Americans for the guidance of our exporters.

The long-range program had two main aims. First, to stimulate production of new non-competitive products in Latin America on the pattern set by the Inter-Departmental Committee. This was to give Latin America additional income with which to buy our goods. Second, to stimulate trade among the Latin American nations themselves as a means of lessening their dangerous dependence on European markets and sources.

The groundwork for these programs was just being laid when our direct involvement in the Second World War suddenly changed our emphasis, retarding some parts of the plan and speeding others. After the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Rio in January, 1942, the agency was given new responsibilities, as we shall see.

A very important piece of bulwark-building in Latin America was completed in November, 1940, when the United States and 14 coffee-producing countries of Latin America signed an agreement under which the United States market, then the only major one left open, was protected against indiscriminate dumping that would have made coffee prices crash. This removed the threat of certain economic collapse from the majority of the coffee producers.

Yet another extremely important politico-economic defense move that even had a direct military bearing was the de-Germanization of Latin America's airlines through 1940 and 1941. In June, 1940, Colombia put German pilots off her then newly nationalized lines and began operating the new national company herself. Pan American Airways is majority stockholder, but the Colombian government has acquired some stock. In mid-1941 Bolivia nationalized her German-owned airlines and made an operating agreement with Pan American-Grace Airways. A United States loan provided American equipment for the new service. In September, Ecuador grounded German airlines and, after obtaining a United States loan, expropriated the properties. Panair do Brasil, Pan American Airways subsidiary, extended its services during this period.

When Germany invaded Poland, European airlines, mostly German, were flying 65 percent of Latin America's airlines. At the time of Pearl Harbor, American companies and their Latin American subsidiaries and affiliates were flying 63 percent. Positions had been reversed, in our favor.

Pan American Airways was enlarging airports all along its route during this period. Its fields and those of Pan American-Grace were in use by the hemisphere air patrol. It built a great string of ports around the hump of Latin America to Brazil's bulge. On August 18, 1941, President Roosevelt announced that this was in use as a ferry route to the Allied forces fighting in Africa.

In early 1941 arrangements were made with the Republic of Panama under which we began to build air bases and artillery defenses for the Canal throughout her territory. Arrangements were made with Mexico to improve ports and airports there. American flying instructors started air training schools in Brazil, Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. Student pilots from all over the hemisphere were brought to the United States for training under a scholarship program.

In the spring of 1941, General George Marshall announced that Latin American nations would get Lend-Lease assistance. The first agreement was signed on August 2 with the Dominican Republic. Before the year was out Haiti, Paraguay, Brazil, Nicaragua, Cuba and Bolivia had made agreements. Uruguay, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, Ecuador and Guatemala followed suit in 1942.

As these agreements were made, U. S. military missions multiplied in Latin America. In several capitals they replaced German and Italian missions.

The two years before the storm broke over our heads in full fury saw many a gap in hemisphere defenses hastily patched up. This took more American attention, United States money and more Americans to Latin America than ever before, except perhaps at the height of the old postwar boom. Latin America enjoyed and rode the new wave, called the Cultural Avalanche, yet was inclined to look for rocks under it. But this wave was nothing to compare with the one that was to come after the full tempest of the Second World War was on us.

The big rush to Latin America and the big spending there during the Second World War have not been, as many people mistakenly suppose, part of our good-neighbor program or of our politico-economic fence-building. They resulted from another circumstance. When the Japanese marched down through the Southwest Pacific they took great sources of our raw materials. We had to turn to Latin America to recoup these losses. Our big money outlays there, which I shall tell about in detail in a following article, were made in a desperate hunt for minerals, metals, fibers, woods and even food that we had to have to wage and win a global war.

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Washington Notes

Hell-Bent for Depression

STOOPED, 80-year-old Robert L. Doughton, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, reassured the Chamber. "I think," he said, "there is a great deal of unnecessary excitement about the unemployment problem. I do not think it is as serious as many people think."

The provision to retrain war workers has been dropped. Why? "The program to train workers would tend to bind them together," explained Thomas A. Jenkins (R) of Ohio, "and eventually put them into ruts out of which it would be difficult for them to extricate themselves."

Republican Daniel A. Reed of New York pointed out that Germany "adopted an unemployment-compensation system in 1926"—and look what happened to Germany!

Tough old Republican reactionary, Harold Knutson of Minnesota, declared the time had come to cure those afflicted with the malady of the "gimmies."

And so, as America approached the greatest problem of economic readjustment in all its history, the House passed last week an unemployment-insurance bill even more reactionary than the George bill in the Senate.

A minority of liberals pleaded in vain. Walter A. Lynch (D) of New York reported that only 22 states responded to a recent official questionnaire that they had any fully completed plans for public works. Only $180 million worth of such projects are far enough advanced, he estimated, to be put into effect within 60 days. The House passed the bill without a roll call in one of the most significant actions of our time.

It is impossible to doubt that Congress is headed back to postwar "normalcy." Congress wants a cheap labor market and has no real belief in full employment within an expansionist economy. Congress is going to see that the war workers live off their own fat in the lean winter ahead. "They have no doubt accumulated something which will tide them over until they can again become located," Mr. Jenkins helpfully explained. Congress has thus rejected national control or national planning. It rejects the theory of supporting mass purchasing power, if it ever understood it. The need now, it asserts, is rigid federal economy, even though it bankrupts the nation. It accepts the old fallacy that the working masses would rather live on a dole than earn wages.

The irony is that intelligent business groups, like the Committee for Economic Development, which gets tax advice from Beardsley Ruml, are now themselves arguing for centralized support of mass purchasing power. The CED's tax plan, published September 6, postulates employment of 55 millions and a national income of $140 billion, at which level the war debt can be carried.

There is a breath-taking casualness in the way people are accepting the back-to-normalcy trend as inevitable. David Lawrence's research staff for The United States News last week estimated 3,000,000 jobless six months after Germany's fall, 6,000,000 in 12 months, and 10,000,000 after Japan's fall. But we were told not to worry too much. "Ten million unemployed scarcely means the return of paralyzing depression."

The 1944 political arguments are falling into their respective patterns. Democrats are trying to center attention on world affairs, and praise Mr. Roosevelt's experience. They view with alarm isolationism and The Chicago Tribune. Republicans, like the Governors who have so far broadcast, seek to put domestic issues in the center, and offer as their pet bogeys Democratic big-city bosses, the CIO-PAC and Washington bureaucracy. The two patterns are apt to continue through the campaign. Mr. Truman, in his acceptance speech, significantly used the word "isolationism" four times, and "experience" or its derivatives the same number. He did not use "Republican" or "Dewey" at all. It is likely that Mr. Roosevelt will also refrain from mentioning his opponent by name.

Mr. Roosevelt is probably too astute to let such an event as his forthcoming meeting with Winston Churchill specifically blanket out a Dewey speech; that would be a little crude. But by one of those coincidences of campaign years, it will be odd if Candidate Roosevelt does not take the Commander-in-Chief out on a trip or two while Mr. Dewey is rallying the country, and so arrange matters that world developments have the spotlight.

Mr. Dewey has one fairly difficult problem quite apart from FDR, and that is Governor Bricker. Under state law, an Ohio soldier must mark his absentee ballot with "black pencil"; a fountain pen, or a burnt match at the front, wouldn't do. Bull-headed Bricker declined to modify this rule, though it was pointed out it would cost hundreds of Ohio soldiers their votes. But the heat got too much for Mr. Dewey, it is reported here, who is already under attack for New York's own restrictive soldier ballot. Mr. Dewey cracked the whip and Mr. Bricker will reluctantly recommend a change to the state legislature.

The administration's railway anti-trust suit is obliquely political. Western states get fighting mad over rate discrimination which the Justice Department is now out to cure. But Mr. Dewey, as Governor of New York, has defended the rate status quo, and pointed out how a change would affect the Empire State, where "industries have located, workers have made their homes, in reliance on the present rate structure."

Notes: Sections of America's farm population which have perhaps been benefited more by, and are now angrier against, the New Deal than any other element, are in for a sudden transition; with the war's end there is going to be a surplus of food even in spite of Europe's demands. All the federal price-pegging which the Louis Bromfields now resent because they keep prices from going higher, are going to be needed to keep prices from going down. . . . Nobody better deserved the Heywood Broun Memorial Award of the Newspaper Guild than Nathan Robertson of PM's Washington bureau. To write three big stories in one year—the fire-insurance lobby, the Wright Aeronautical inspection scandal and the Elk Hills-Standard Oil deal—is amazing. Few journalists have worked harder, more conscientiously, or more joyfully in the Lord. A story by-lined "Nathan Robertson" is always worth reading.

Washington T. R. B.

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The Straight and Narrow

THE British Office of Information has released a competent entertainment, 30 minutes long, about the history of the kindergartenlike song, "Lili Marlene," which became the most popular war song of the Nazi soldiers, was heard in German broadcasts by Allied soldiers around the Mediterranean and became their favorite as well. The song, which was first sung in a Berlin night club by a girlish-voiced entertainer namel Lalli Anderson, has had a fairy-tale career. One of its most horrible moments happened when the British substituted some political lyrics of the kind written for music like "Ballad for Americans" for the real ones, and had Lucie Mannheim shriek the song back to the Germans in a propaganda broadcast. The direction of Humphrey Jennings goes incredibly soft at times, with the kind of sentimental overindulgence of the subject matter and the photography that is practised in the still photographs in Coronet Magazine, but does well enough on the whole. The best things have to do with the satire and accuracy of combined sound and visual images: the spectacle and sound of "Lili Marlene" being sung by a horselike opera singer, the accurate, vulgar reproduction of a fantastically elaborate modern-day broadcast, Miss Anderson singing the song in a German night club, symbolically cutting from the sentimentality of that scene to the cacophony of one of Hitler's triumphant entries into a conquered city.

Another British Information short shows equal amounts of Burgess Meredith and life in the British Isles and is called "Welcome to Britain." The two are combined to show American soldiers what English life is like and how to treat it.

"Meet MacGonegal," "To the Ladies" and "Resisting Enemy Interrogation" are three recent examples of movie-making by service film units. The main thing about all of them is that they show an increasing ability by their makers to project ideas with genuine movie force, using mainly a greater economy of means, less decorating of the point and the actual visual material, and far less underrating of the audience's ability to stomach or understand most things. The best of the three is the first one, which is a frank, powerfully bare two-reeler that shows disabled war veterans how well one of their members—Charles MacGonegal, an armless World War I soldier—gets along with mechanical arms and steel hooks for fingers. The force and success of the film are gained by eliminating everything in the way of patriotism, moral uplift and most verbal explanations and concentrating solely and simply on a visual proof of Mr. MacGonegal's skill with mechanical arms: he shaves, ties his shoes, eats, drives his car, types, telephones, plays billiards with facility and good screen presence.

The most likable difference between old recruiting films and the new one, "To the Ladies," is that the new one does only a minor amount of selling you into the service with the idea that you will see the world, live sumptuously, be endlessly entertained and learn the most fascinating trade. "To the Ladies" does its recruiting for the Army Nurse Corps and uses some good, stark film to the best psychological advantage. "Resisting Enemy Interrogation" is an ingeniously worked-out thriller-instruction film that includes an extraordinary number of details for fliers to guard against when they are captured and questioned by the enemy.

Seeing these non-commercial films made me feel more than ever before that there will be an expanded movie world after the war to take care of the thousands of new technicians developed in service units; also to include a documentary-producing industry similar to the one that existed in England before the war. The wartime documentaries have already affected the technique used in almost every fiction film. The one non-comfortable feeling I had on all of them came from their being controlled by a definite political and moral line, which the people making them may or may not agree with. The obvious feeling watching "Meet MacGonegal" and "To the Ladies" is that the same subject matter on war casualties could be used to make the most convincing anti-war movie, which is not likely to be permitted by either this country or Great Britain; "Lili Marlene" presents a history of the war and an attitude toward it which is exactly the same as every other history of the war presented in an Allied documentary; "Welcome to Britain" handles the problem of relations between white soldiers and black ones with a lot of good intentions, but the treatment is that of the most vote-conscious presidential candidate. MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

Fair play requires that every army officer who is charged with the explanation of voting procedure should tell the soldier also that he is just as good an American when he withholds his vote as when he casts it. – *David Lawrence in his syndicated column.*

. . . It is more than a year since a successful North African campaign was concluded. For the users of essential oils and flower oils, this has been a period of disappointment and disillusionment. It is hoped that the liberation of France will not bring equally lengthy delays before the resumption of normal trading. – *From The Givaudanian, a trade magazine.*

A three-man subcommittee, two of whose members recently were defeated for renomination in the face of CIO opposition, was named today to make a Dies Committee investigation of the CIO's Political Action Committee (PAC). – *From The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.*

MAYFAIR TAVERN
THE BAR WHERE GENTLEMEN MEET
AND REMAIN GENTLEMEN
Beer to Take Out
– *Advertisement in The Frankfurt (Michigan) Patriot.*

Atrocity

They [the Germans] dropped incendiaries which started fires that destroyed literally millions of bottles of the finest wines in all France. Frenchmen spoke of the bombing with unwonted indignation. Inured to the hardships of war, they were disposed to forgive much, but they said a nation of Germans which would wantonly destroy the best wines of France deserved no consideration at the peace table. – *AP dispatch from Paris.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Liberals and the Future

SIR: The awful truth of today is the menacing truth of increasing reaction. We see that in the defeat of the Kilgore bill, in the designation of men like Dewey and Bricker as political candidates, in the sacrifice of Henry Wallace to a dubious political expediency. We listen to the mounting chorus of the tory press beating a swelling hymn of hatred against those things that would make for a decent America. All through the nation the horrors of race hate, of religious persecution, grow terrifyingly larger. Industrialists purchase tear gas for the coming war against labor. Congress prepares programs for demobilization, for the distribution of surplus property solely for the benefit of big business.

The CIO-PAC has been one of the answers to this large-scale tory organization. But the PAC is not the final answer. Its chief value for the future lies in the fact that it pioneers the way for what must follow—the complete and active unity of all progressives and progressive organizations in American life.

True, progressives and their organizations have been active. But each has been active in his own green Arcadia of democracy. How often do progressives reach out their hands and proclaim, "Welcome, brother"? The whole history of our intelligent minority movements has been a tragedy of internecine bickering, of fatal schisms. Men have eternally asserted their right to march in their own democratic voids intoning prettily to those who follow—and remaining blissfully unaware of the dangers to that democracy. But now the times demand that all men who value the life of man more than they do the sign of the dollar, close ranks in a firm and positive organization against the growth of reaction. The time for intellectual bickering is over; the forces of reaction are gathering for the kill.

To achieve that unity a congress must be held (after the November elections—either to implement the efforts of President Roosevelt for a better world, or else to combat the efforts of President Dewey to sabotage the better world): a congress of all forces which in one way or another are committed to the thesis that the world was created for all men to live the good life. The composition of the congress would be varied—organizations like the Union for Democratic Action, the Communist Political Organization, the Friends of Democracy, the Protestant Textbook Commission, the American Labor Party, the Liberal Party, the Socialist Party; newspapermen like Max Lerner, Freda Kirchwey, Bruce Bliven, Sam Grafton, Irving Brant, Joseph North, Kenneth Leslie, Jennings Perry, George Seldes; union leaders like Phil Murray, James Carey, Sidney Hillman, Joe Curran, Reid Robinson, John Green, Emil Rieve, Dan Tobin, A. F. Whitney; farm leaders—James Patton, Murray Lincoln; Negro leaders—Walter White, Max Yergan, Clayton Powell, A. Philip Randolph; writers—Fast, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Ruth McKenney; professors—Ralph Barton Perry, R. M. Lynd, Oscar Lange, Francis McMahon; radio commentators—Frank Kingdon, Johannes Steel—and, of course, Hollywood.

Undoubtedly, there are errors of omission and commission. I know only that what I propose is the necessity of the times. It would be tragic were ideological differences allowed to predominate over the single fact that with all of the above groups and individuals, it is people who come first.

What would be the course of action? Discussions to be held at the conference on the basic necessity for unity among all of these groups. Committees could be set up and procedures established for coöperation. A common basis for concerted action on vital issues could be found, for beside the better life for man nothing is irreconcilable. All over the world, people have discovered how basic is the need for unity against reaction. The recent action of the Communist and Socialist Parties in Italy is a clear recognition of this; and there are the stories of French unity and Yugoslavian unity still fresh for us to learn from. People can come together if they are honest and talk out their difficulties. No one man, no one group, possesses the only key to the better life. Progress is a matter of fighting for mutual aims and burying petty disagreements in the struggle.

Cape May, N. J. S. M.

Trouble in Boston

SIR: The Boston Daily Globe's editorial of August 19, 1944 (commenting on the murder of an ex-Marine sergeant in Boston, strangled with his own belt by a group of boys, aged 15-16), epitomizes the moral, social and economic condition of the Greater Boston area when it states: "Well, what about it? This hits us all where we live. This incredible crime climaxes a chapter of hoodlumism, typified by the meanest racial attacks, which has shamed Boston before the nation."

I might add the current condition of affairs did not come upon us suddenly here. Three years ago, it was made plain to me, as president of the Boston branch of the NAACP, that racial intolerance had finally struck north to Boston: when Dean Franklin, in charge of women at Boston University, challenged me for upholding social equality by insisting that a colored young woman student remain in the room she had selected in the university's most exclusive girls' dormitory. President Marsh and the board of trustees of that school forthrightly stated that their university did not draw the color line.

Last summer, the Buddies Club, a USO recreational facility on Boston Common, within about twenty feet from the monument erected to the memory of Crispus Attucks of Boston Massacre fame, afraid of offending servicemen coming from the South, refused equality to colored junior hostesses. Forty-nine women volunteer workers at this club, most of them coming from what is termed "the better element," presented their resignations to the trustees of the USO protesting the placing of colored junior hostesses there.

Despite what the Governor's Committee on Race Relations in our Commonwealth has done, particularly by the issuing of a manual to the police departments throughout the state, telling how to handle a riot or crowds, a very significant episode took place on August 1. I have sworn affidavits that two Boston policemen, jumping out of a patrol wagon at the corner of West Springfield Street and Columbus Avenue, without a word, seized, beat, clubbed and kicked two colored soldiers into said wagon; then one of these policemen drew out his gun and pointed it at the gathering crowd of about fifty people. There was no provocation for the police to do what they did; for these two soldiers had some time before had a fist fight in a neighboring alleyway and police in a prowl car had warned them to leave the premises, which they immediately did, and were having a "love feast" on the said street corner. Two colored women, one of whom has had a business place in that vicinity for the past twelve years, went to the local police station, made inquiry about the two soldiers, heard them screaming, and saw

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one beaten up in her presence in the station; furthermore—and this is significant—she was told by the policeman at the desk that, "*It is lucky some other officers we have in this station were not there, for they would not only have pulled out their guns, but would have fired directly into that crowd.*" This matter of police brutality in the Boston area, as well as all over our country, is the most irksome, and forms the base of all riots. Then, again, there is the matter of police entering homes of colored citizens, without warrant or provocation, day or night. Innocent persons are arrested, picked off the streets; and only after going through the whole gamut of justice, due adjudication in court, do they get liberty. I had just such a case last month. They say that the police are "jittery." If that be true, it is imperative that the proper authorities remedy this situation. We can easily, and soon, have a riot, if this condition continues.

I suggest the following—and before I begin, let me quote further from that Globe editorial, for I have publicly and privately so expostulated: "We have read about it. *We have talked about it. We have held meetings and appointed committees and had more talk. We have passed the buck in all our talk. We blame the home, blame the schools, blame the police, blame the war. But what have we done—except talk?*"

1. White citizens must shake off their indifference and really begin to learn about their black fellow Americans.

2. The Negro, catered to by over 140 newspapers, mostly weeklies, knows about the war effort, democracy, Red Cross blood-donor treatment, segregation in the armed forces; death on the field of battle of his loved ones and members of his group; wounded and maimed for life is the lot of others belonging to him. Consequently, with no belligerent spirit, each and every colored man, woman and child in America feels he or she should be treated like any other citizen; and what is important, is resolved not to be treated as a second-class citizen.

3. I do not believe the local condition is hopeless: the more we bring these things to light, the better all of us will know how to conduct ourselves. The Negro should take a more active part in community affairs. His apparent growing distrust of some white people will only aggravate the situation.

4. We live in a great Commonwealth, and our forefathers before us banded together for the common weal. This has been our pattern here for over three hundred years. Both colored and white have only to follow and adhere to this precept, and we shall always have harmony, peace and good will toward each other, regardless of race, creed or color.

RAY W. GUILD,
Chairman of Legal Committee, Boston Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Cambridge, Mass.

In Favor of Wage Control

SIR: In your comments on my letter published in your issue of July 24 regarding your proposals for relaxing wage-controls, you appear to attribute to me a suggestion that industrial laborers who have profited during the war as a result of the increased opportunities for employment of formerly dependent members of their families should be "deprived" of this advantage. Nothing that I said in my letter suggests that I would be in favor of any such project. I merely mentioned the situation in question as one of the "solid economic advantages" gained by industrial labor as a direct result of the war, and expressed the opinion that since labor has obtained these benefits, it has no right to demand further war profits in the shape of increased "wage rates." In other words I indicated a preference for the wage-control policy of the present administration over that advocated by you and now by the Republican convention.

The College of Emporia, Emporia, Kan. F. R. FLOURNOY

The Bibb Company's Recipe

SIR: Your comment on Dewey and the Depression and T. R. B.'s caustic remarks on the Bibb Manufacturing Company [The New Republic, August 21] tempt me to send you an item from an unpublished book of mine, entitled "The Decline and Fall of Normalcy: A History of the Hoover Administration":

W. D. Anderson, president of the Bibb Company, told his employees at Columbus, Georgia, on October 4, 1931, that the following was a sufficient supply of food for a family of four persons for a week:

24 pounds of flour	$0.60
4 pounds of lard	.35
8 pounds of potatoes	.16
1 peck of meal	.25
Total	$1.36

This was all a working family of four really needed, said Mr. Anderson; but he was willing to allow some luxuries. One pound of coffee, 12 cents, and two pounds of fatback, 20 cents, should satisfy the bellies of working folk. That brought the weekly food bill to $1.68; and even textile wages would cover that.

These figures were furnished the writer by Edward McGrady, then with the American Federation of Labor; and were promptly telephoned to the United States Public Health Service. The Service's answer was that Mr. Anderson had found an almost perfect prescription for bringing pellagra.

South Bend, Ind. GEORGE L. KNAPP

From The New Republic Mail Bag

We have received a news release from the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, a new political party in that state. The basis of the party is in local "Commonwealth Clubs" formed both within previously existing trade unions, coöperatives and farm organizations, and outside of these groups. Membership is composed of "factory workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, farmers, small business men and housewives of all creeds and races, united to make a clean break with monopoly exploitation and . . . to establish an independent political party which will fight for a high standard of living and freedom for all." The address of the party is 606 Hofman Building, Detroit 1, Michigan.

From somewhere in the South Pacific, Pvt. H. H. writes regarding the new Liberal Party in New York State. He praises the new party as a step in the right direction, but he protests against "its compromise with so-called 'free enterprise'," and urges formation of a nationwide third party "on the lines of the Canadian CCF [which] would serve the workingmen's and farmers' needs more fully."

The Workers' Defense League writes to us urging public pressure for a presidential pardon for Pedro Albizu Campos, president of the Puerto Rican Nationalist (Independence) Party. Dr. Campos was convicted in 1936 on a charge of conspiring to overthrow the United States Government by force, served a sentence of six years in Atlanta Prison, and has been in a New York hospital since he was freed in 1943, recovering from illnesses contracted in prison. Judge Cooper, who presided over the Puerto Rican trial of Campos, is now attempting to have the Nationalist leader returned to prison on a charge of failing to comply with parole regulations. The Workers' Defense League asks those interested in civil rights for all to wire the President or Attorney General Biddle, requesting a full pardon for Campos.

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Books in Review

Frost: A Dissenting Opinion

ROBERT FROST has been heaped with more official and academic honors than any other American poet, living or dead. Although he was never graduated from college, having left Dartmouth after two months and Harvard after two years (and more credit to his dogged independence), he holds by the last count seventeen honorary degrees. He was twice made a Master of Arts (by Amherst and Michigan), three times a Doctor of the Humanities (by Vermont, Wesleyan and St. Lawrence) and twelve times a Doctor of Letters (by Yale, Middlebury, Bowdoin, New Hampshire, Columbia, Williams, Dartmouth, Bates, Pennsylvania, Harvard, Colorado and Princeton). He has been chosen as a Phi Beta Kappa poet by Tufts, William and Mary, Harvard (twice) and Columbia. He has been a professor at Amherst; a poet in residence and a fellow in letters at Michigan; a Charles Eliot Norton professor, a Ralph Waldo Emerson fellow and a fellow in American civilization at Harvard, all these being fairly lucrative appointments. He has been awarded four Pulitzer Prizes, one more than E. A. Robinson and two more than Stephen Vincent Benét, the only other poets to be named more than once. He has also received the Loines Prize for poetry, the Mark Twain medal, the gold medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and the silver medal of the Poetry Society of America. His work has been the subject of at least two full-length critical studies, many brochures, pamphlets, bibliographies and a memorial volume, "Recognition of Robert Frost," not to mention hundreds of essays which, with some discordant notes in the early years, have ended as a vast diapason of praise.

And Frost deserves all these honors, both for his poetry in itself and for a long career devoted to the art of verse. In a country where poets go to seed, he has kept his talent ready to produce perfect blossoms (together with some that are misshapen or overgrown). It is a pleasure to name over the poems of his youth and age that become more vivid in one's memory with each new reading: the dramatic dialogues like "The Death of the Hired Man" and "The Witch of Coös," besides half a dozen others almost equally good; the descriptions or narrations that turn imperceptibly into Aesop's fables, like "The Grindstone" and "Cow in Apple Time"; and, best of all, the short lyrics like "The Pasture," "Now Close the Windows," "The Sound of the Trees," "Fire and Ice," "Stopping by the Woods on a Snowy Evening" (always a favorite with anthologists), "To Earthward," "Tree at My Window," "Acquainted with the Night," "Neither out Far Nor in Deep," "Beech," "Willful Homing," "Come In" . . . and I could easily add to the list. One of his best lyrics was written in 1892, when Frost was a freshman at Dartmouth; three or four others were included in his latest book, "The Witness Tree," published just fifty years later; and these recent poems show more skill and density of expression than almost anything he had written before. This same volume and the one that preceded it—"A Further Range," published in 1936—also contain bad poems that have been almost equally admired: long monologues in pedestrian blank verse, spoken as if from a cracker barrel among the clouds, and doggerel anecdotes directed (or rather, indirected) against the New Deal; but a poet has the right to be judged by his best work, and Frost at his best has added to our little store of authentic poetry.

If in spite of this I still say that there is a case against him and room for a dissenting opinion, perhaps I chiefly mean that there is a case against the zealous admirers who are not content to take the poet for what he is, but insist on using him as a sort of banner for their own moral or political crusades.

We have lately been watching the growth in this country of a narrow nationalism that has spread from politics into literature (although its literary adherents are usually not political isolationists). They demand, however, that American literature should be affirmative, optimistic, uncritical and "truly of this nation." They have been looking round for a poet to exalt; and Frost, through no fault of his own (but chiefly through the weaker qualities of his work), has been adopted as their symbol. Some of the honors heaped on him are less poetic than political. He is being praised too often and with too great vehemence by people who don't like poetry. And the result is that his honors shed very little of their luster on other poets, who in turn feel none of the pride in his achievements that a battalion feels, for example, when one of its officers is cited for outstanding services. Instead Frost is depicted by his admirers as a sort of Sunday-school paragon, a saint among miserable sinners. His common sense and strict Americanism are used as an excuse for berating and belittling other poets, who have supposedly fallen into the sins of pessimism, obscurity, obscenity and yielding to foreign influences; we even hear of their treachery to the American dream. Frost, on the other hand, is depicted as loyal, autochthonous and almost aboriginal. We are told not only that he is "the purest classical poet of America today"—and there is some truth in Gorham B. Munson's early judgment—but also that he is "the one great American poet of our time" and "the only living New Englander in the great tradition, fit to be placed beside Emerson, Hawthorne and Thoreau."

But when Frost is so placed and measured, his stature seems greatly diminished; it is almost as if a tough little Morgan horse, the best of its breed, had been judged by the standards that apply to Clydesdales and Percherons. Height, breadth and strength: he falls short in all these qualities of the great New Englanders. And the other quality for which he is often praised, his utter faithfulness to the New England spirit, is not one of the virtues they knowingly cultivated. They realized that the New England spirit, when it stands alone, is inclined to be narrow and arithmetical. It has reached its finest growth only when cross-fertilized with alien philosophies.

Hinduism, Sufism, Fourierism and German Romanticism: each of these doctrines contributed its own share to

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the New England renaissance of the 1850's. Even Thoreau, who died almost in sight of his birthplace, said that he had traveled much in Concord; he spoke of bathing his intellect "in the stupendous and cosmogonal philosophy of the Bhagvat-Geeta. . . . The pure Walden water," he said, "is mingled with the sacred water of the Ganges." And Hawthorne, who told us that "New England is quite as large a lump of earth as my heart can really take in," was eager for any new ideas that might help to explain the nature of New Englanders as individuals or as members of society. The books he borrowed from the Salem Athenaeum during the ten lonely years he spent at home included the complete works, in French, of Rousseau, Voltaire (several times), Pascal, Racine (several times) and the "Essais" of Montaigne, as well as a great number of volumes on science, philosophy, general history and the past of New England.[1] Some of his weaker contemporaries were quite unbalanced by the foreign learning with which they overloaded their minds; but the stronger ones assimilated everything and, in the end, reasserted their own New England natures, which had become immensely richer.

And even Frost, as purely Yankee as his character seems today, was partly formed by his three years abroad. The turning point in his life was when he sold his first New Hampshire farm (which his grandfather had bought for him on condition that he live there at least ten years) and when, in 1912, his wife said, "Let's go to England and live under thatch." In England he made the reputation that enabled him to continue his career as a poet (and also as a "poet in residence"). In England, too, he had the experience of meeting other poets who understood what he was trying to say: Lascelles Abercrombie, Rupert Brooke, Wilfred Wilson Gibson and Edward Thomas. They were willing to learn from him, and Frost, in a sense, learned even more from them: that is, he learned to abandon the conventional language of the Late Victorians and to use his own speech without embarrassment. It is interesting to compare "A Boy's Will," published in London but written in New Hampshire before his English journey, with "Mountain Interval," published after his return to this country in 1915 but written chiefly in England. The poems in "A Boy's Will" gave his own picture of the world, but in the language of the genteel poets; they were full of "maidens pale," "sweet pangs" and "airy dalliance." The poems written in the English countryside used the language that is spoken north of Boston. Once it had been regarded as a mere dialect only to be used in ballads like "Skipper Ireson's Ride" and in satirical comments like "The Biglow Papers"; but Frost in England had done what Hemingway would later do in Paris: he had raised his own idiom to the dignity of a literary language.

It was after his return that he carried the process further. Having learned to write New Hampshire, he also began to think New Hampshire, in the sense of accepting its older customs as immutable laws. But this subject of Frost as a social philosopher and, at his worst, a Calvin Coolidge of poetry is one that I should like to discuss next week.

MALCOLM COWLEY

[1] These facts about Hawthorne are taken from F. O. Matthiessen's "American Renaissance," a book that has never been sufficiently praised. — M. C.

"O, Early Ripe . . ."

Time Must Have a Stop, by Aldous Huxley. New York: Harper and Brothers. 311 pages. $2.75.
The Barricades, by Philip Toynbee. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 284 pages. $2.50.

FOR YEARS the success of Bernard Shaw's plays was set down to his ideas, his wit, his exploitation of paradox, to everything, indeed, but the patent fact that he was an extraordinary playwright, as Edmund Wilson has patiently demonstrated. A similar confusion has befogged the criticism of Aldous Huxley's novels, and never more so than in the first reviews of his new book. I have yet to see a bare-faced admission that Huxley is one of the ablest novelists alive. He is recurringly praised as a satirist, a political philosopher, a wit, a scholar, a preacher; or his penchant for preaching, for literary and philosophical asides and for ignoring the conventional chronology of the novel are assailed and whatever merit adheres to his work is acknowledged "in spite of" his aberrations. The "in-spite-of" school will find many supporters in the case of "Time Must Have a Stop," for Huxley has fully indulged his esthetic interests, and the religious views that have filled the void of his civilized nihilism are not only irrelevant to the human situation, but are responsible for carrying the book beyond the limits suggested by the inner action and logic of the plot.

The "plot," as with most good novels, is simple but capable of bearing great weight, leading to avenues of rich experience and opening on fertile areas for exploration. Sebastian Barnack, seventeen, an exquisite and poet, is thwarted in his desire for a dress suit by his puritanical, politically radical father. From London Sebastian journeys to Florence where his Uncle Eustace, the antithesis of his father, promises the boy the evening clothes and presents him with a Degas drawing. Abruptly Uncle Eustace dies, from lifelong hedonism capped by a strenuous afternoon with the pneumatic Mimi and an evening of cigars and old brandy. Sebastian, with no clear title to the drawing, sells it and orders the clothes. . . . The complications that follow, due chiefly to Sebastian's lies, are witnessed by Eustace in limbo, where consciousness expanding in time permits him to see the present war which for mortal Sebastian is still more than a decade in the future. Sebastian's troubles are resolved by a Florentine bookseller, an anti-fascist lay saint, whose ideas apparently parallel Huxley's current beliefs and prepare us for the postscript, in which Sebastian, at thirty-two in the year 1943, makes Huxleyan reflections upon the notes in his journal, notes which read like passages of Huxley's "Texts and Pretexts" or "Ends and Means."

Upon this framework the vines of Huxley's talent grow; to envelop it, to wander from it, to weigh it with fruit, which, as I have suggested, is not always uniform in texture or ripeness. It is the quality of Huxley's talent that sets off "Time Must Have a Stop" from a very good novel, "The Barricades," by Philip Toynbee, the brilliant young fiction reviewer of The New Statesman and Nation. "The Barricades" is as good as taste, intelligence and distinguished prose can make it, but it lacks precisely those ele-

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ments that, for me at least, lift Huxley's newest novel from the ruck of most contemporary fiction. In contrast to Huxley's confused and confusing religiosity is Toynbee's common-sense rationalism. Over against the former's overripe artistic and literary meanderings and dangling postscript is a manner, bare of pretense but witness to an informed intelligence. But neither Toynbee's good sense nor his commendable economy add up to Huxley's superior gifts as a novelist.

"The Barricades" has two leading figures: Michael Rawlins, a schoolmaster in his late thirties, who is, more or less willingly, fired from his post, and David Markham, a young student who follows Rawlins from the school to London under the impression that the latter has been persecuted for his sympathy for the Spanish Republic. Each man is to experience a kind of sentimental education, with Markham on the road to maturity and Madrid and Rawlins teaching somewhat aimlessly in a Paris *lycée*. The novel derives its title from the barriers between Markham's thinking and Rawlins', illustrated by their divergent final courses. It is a concept that is fortunately not elaborated, because it is not wholly logical; the barricade between the men is chiefly temperamental rather than a matter of different generations.

To present Toynbee's novel as a foil for Huxley is not to disparage it. He, along with Henry Green and William Plomer, is an English novelist who is much too little known in this country. GEORGE MAYBERRY

India's Constitutional Problem

The Indian Problem: Report on the Constitutional Problem in India, by R. Coupland. New York: Oxford University Press. 711 pages. $5.

THIS VOLUME is a compilation of three distinct works—"The Indian Problem: 1833-1935" (1943); "Indian Politics: 1936-42" (1943); and "The Future of India" (1943)—by Professor R. Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford University, an authority on Indian affairs and a member of the Cripps Mission to India. The result of painstaking research, it is a storehouse of information regarding the constitutional development of India from 1909 up to the present time. The period from 1833 to 1909 has not been adequately covered. In this work, the author, among other things, discusses the evolution of the All India National Congress from a moderate nationalist organization seeking "a larger measure of self-government" and attainment of dominion status as its goal to its present advocacy of independence of India, Congress policies toward minorities, Indian States, Hindu-Moslem problems, the Government of India Act of 1935, the Cripps Mission and its failure, the so-called Gandhi Rebellion and the possible developments in Indo-British relations and politics. At the end of each section of the book Professor Coupland summarizes his conclusions, based upon detailed studies. This will be helpful to those who have not the time to wade through nearly seven hundred pages to understand the author's point of view, which is a scholarly but detached justification of the British official position on Indian problems. There are eighteen appendices which contain extremely valuable documents, such as the Constitution of the All India National Congress, the Congress Declaration of Fundamental Rights (Nationalist India's proposed Bill of Rights), the draft proposal of the British government presented by Sir Stafford Cripps to Indian political parties and other materials of importance. In many ways this book will serve as an important reference work on India, although I do not agree with the author's conclusions on certain issues.

Lack of space permits me to discuss only a few of these points of disagreement.

Professor Coupland in an objective manner opens the study of Indian problems with a chapter on the "Structure of the British Raj," which is of necessity an extremely centralized form of government over which Indians have no real control. This structure of the government is an expression of the spirit of the government; and the reviewer holds that although occasionally individual British statesmen have in the past given expression to the desirability of granting freedom to the Indian people and have even visualized the eventual exit of the British from India as alien rulers, yet the spirit of the British government of India has not changed from what it was after the conquest of Bengal and the consolidation of the power of the East India Company.

The motive of British domination of India, through the control of foreign affairs, national defense, finance of the country and appointment of such Indians as would serve British interests under British high officials who would formulate policies and carry on "superintendence, direction and control," produced the extremely centralized structure of the present-day government of India. The spirit of absolutism which existed in the government of Bengal during the days of Lord Clive and the spirit of the government under Lord Wavell today are the same. This will be apparent to all who carefully examine the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935, which is still in force so far as the central government of India is concerned:

> The Secretary of State may, subject to the provisions of this act, superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the government or revenues of India.
>
> The superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, who is required to pay obedience to all such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State.

It should be noted that neither the Governor-General nor the Secretary of State for India is in any way responsible to the people of India. This is so, because responsible self-government and alien domination cannot coexist in any land.

Like most of the Western experts on India, Professor Coupland suggests that Indian nationalism is the product of a benevolent British rule and emphasizes the fact that the existing disunity between the Hindus and Moslems prevents the British from extending measures for full freedom to the people. Indian nationalism, from my point of view and that of unbiased historians, is not the product of the British rule in the sense that the British rulers have purposely and deliberately stimulated it. Indian national unity is to a certain extent due to the centralized form of government imposed upon the people for the purpose of

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controlling the country. Indian nationalism is the product of Indian efforts to survive; and it has been stimulated by all kinds of world forces and revolutions, including the break-up of Indian isolation through contact with the West and even by Indo-British contact. At every period of history, the desire to overthrow alien domination over political, economic and cultural life has produced nationalism among various peoples—Russians, Spaniards, Dutch, Greeks, Irish, Mexicans and others. Indian nationalism in its very essence is not different from any other nationalism in Asia—China, Turkey, Persia and others—and it should be carefully noted that Indian nationalism, in its aspirations, is in no way different from British, American or Russian nationalism. Indian nationalism has taken the inevitable form of Indo-British conflict, in which the British are using the weapons of repression and temporizing over the granting of any concessions that might lead to the loss of British control over India.

If we keep the above fundamental thesis before us, then we can understand that behind the introduction of a communal electorate system in India in 1909, was the British program of "divide and rule." Behind the proposed partition of India, which was in the proposal of Sir Stafford Cripps on the ground of upholding the minority rights, was also the policy of "divide and rule." On this issue Sir Stafford, in 1940, when he was not in an official position, spoke as follows:

> In truth, if the 80 million Moslems were left to make their political decision without injection of communal animosity, the great majority of them would support the Congress Party's program. In fact many of them do today. Actually the President of the Congress is himself a Moslem and there are many Moslem organizations which oppose the Moslem League and support the Congress in its demands. The *attitude that is being adopted today by the British government is that they can and will do nothing further until the Hindus and Moslems settle their differences. This gives the reactionary leaders of the Moslem League the power to prevent the people of India getting self-government almost indefinitely.* (Italics are mine.)

Professor Coupland, in his elaborate discussion on the Cripps Mission and its failure, absolves the British War Cabinet and Sir Stafford Cripps from their responsibility for the sad outcome. But even Professor Coupland cannot deny that (a) the British proposal of supporting the Moslem League's demand for partition of India, on the supposed principle of upholding minority rights; that (b) British refusal to take the necessary steps for establishing a National Government, on the supposed ground that such a step could not be taken unless a new constitution be inaugurated; and that (c) the British government's attitude that there could be no modification of the offer under any circumstances, led to the rejection of the Cripps proposal by the All India National Congress.

In 1942 Mr. Gandhi and other Indian nationalists could not agree to any proposition which might have remotely led to a "partition of India." Professor Coupland has very clearly stated the case against it:

> India is a geographical unit; it is not divided by such physical barriers as have fostered the growth of separate nations in Europe. Its unification under the British rule has made all Indians feel themselves to be Indians; it has saved India from the fate which political and economic nationalism has brought on Europe. The partitionists threaten to throw India back to the condition it was in after the break-up of the Mogul Empire, to make it another Balkans. This would negate development of democracy in India. Partition would also prevent a free India from taking her due place in the world as a great Asiatic power, for it would probably mean disruption into several states ranking with Egypt or Siam.

Whatever may be the future development regarding Indian freedom, it is safe to assert that freedom is the heart of the vital issue in relation to world freedom. It seems that the government of the United States so far has failed to induce the British government to take the necessary steps towards the solution of the present Indo-British conflict on the basis of Indian freedom and Indo-British coöperation. But the recent statements of Vice President Wallace from Chungking and his declaration in the essay, "Our Job in the Pacific," published by the Institute of Pacific Relations, makes it clear that the United States favors a definite program that "subject or colonial Asia," including India, Burma, Malaya, the Dutch Indies and Indo-China, should, through orderly process and within a definite date, be transformed as parts of free Asia. If statesmen of the United Nations fail to carry out this policy, the third world war may be inevitable. The issue of future relations between the East and the West will largely depend upon the outcome of India's struggle for freedom and on the solution of the Indian problem. This issue cannot be ignored under any pretext.

TARAKNATH DAS

Poetry in Soviet Russia

Soviet Poets and Poetry, by Alexander Kaun. Berkeley: The University of California Press. 208 pages. $2.50.

THE VICTORIES of the Red Army have revived American interest in many of the accomplishments of Soviet Russia, but her literature is not one of them. By way of compensation, some of our patriotic publishers have "rediscovered" Russian classical literature, perhaps with the notion that they are responding to the so-called nationalist movement in the Soviet Union today. For three fat anthologies of Russian literature have recently appeared, one of which entirely ignores Soviet productions, and the other two include only niggardly samplings of pieces that have been published since 1917. Hence, the late Professor Alexander Kaun's book on Soviet poets serves as a timely reminder that over the last twenty-five years something of a literary renaissance has taken place in the USSR, and it should be reckoned as one of the indubitable accomplishments of that country.

This book is the first comprehensive study of Soviet poetry to appear in English, and for those who do not read Russian, the work ought to be welcomed as an extremely valuable introduction to one of the most complex and interesting literary developments in modern times. The author is refreshingly unconcerned with whether or not Soviet artists are in uniform, nor does he allow the dread dragon of propaganda to predigest for him his critical criteria. He is first and foremost concerned with presenting the facts of the literary history of Soviet poetry and, since these facts have never been set down in English at

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such length and on the basis of so thorough a knowledge of the Russian sources, this book is likely to remain for some time an authoritative study of the subject.

The development of Soviet literature over the last twenty-five years is as heroic and self-sacrificing a story as the development of Soviet industry or agricultural collectivization. Professor Kaun recognizes this fact, and his book is in part a record of the innumerable material, political and social vicissitudes that poets contended with in practising their art. Poets lagged behind writers of fiction, for they seemed unable to adapt themselves easily to the new demands made upon literature by the state. The discipline of verse is more severe, and it takes a longer time for forms to crystallize and for faith to take root in the poetic consciousness. And then, as Professor Kaun shows, it was not merely a matter of developing new poets, but of teaching millions of people, who had just learned to read, how to appreciate poetry.

The author's principal division into "Post-Symbolists" and "Proletarian Poets and Theorists" makes for easy thematic treatment, but it necessitates a violation of chronology that confuses our understanding of the development of poetic movements and their interrelation with social and economic changes. One chief gain in this approach, however, is to highlight, and properly so, the central struggle between those poets and theorists who were bent on the immediate development of a purely proletarian literature and those who opposed it. The author gives due prominence to the part played by Lenin in this vital controversy. Trotsky and the critic Voronsky opposed a proletarian culture in an absolute and doctrinaire manner, becoming involved in terminology and its unqualified interpretation. Lenin, who never regarded "the doctrine of Marx as a closed and untouchable thing," declared with cool wisdom: "Proletarian culture must not be expected to leap out of nowhere; it cannot be realized as the invention of persons who call themselves specialists of proletarian culture. All this is sheer nonsense. Proletarian culture cannot be anything but a normal development of the stores of knowledge amassed by mankind under the oppression of a capitalist society, a landowner's society, a bureaucratic society." The proponents of the "infantile disease of leftism" were defeated, and after a recurrence of the malady during the First Five-Year Plan, a final cure was effected by the famous resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1932, which has generally been considered by Soviet writers to be a declaration of artistic independence.

Since 1932, Soviet poetry has taken a new lease on life. Professor Kaun's separate treatments of the various poets are nearly always judicious and discriminating. His favorite, Mayakovsky, comes off best. Despite the tremendous popularity of this highly talented writer in the Soviet Union, I am inclined to doubt the sustaining quality of his verse. He seems more significant as a historical figure in Soviet literature than as a poet. On the other hand, one regrets the relatively slight treatment of such fine poets as Pasternak, Tikhonov, Bagritsky and Aseyev. Professor Kaun's own illustrative translations are a distinct addition, although it is unfortunate that he was satisfied so often with merely literal renderings. Another lack is the scant notice accorded the extraordinary body of poetic criticism, especially that of the Formalists, which constitutes one of the principal achievements of Soviet literature.

The last section of the book is devoted to Soviet war poetry, which seems to be fulfilling the best promise of the earlier poets. In fact, the war has brought about something of a renaissance in Soviet verse, and Professor Kaun makes it clear that many of the older poets are being paced by a crop of comparative newcomers, such as Tvardovsky, Surkov and Simonov. A significant progression may be observed from the often difficult, futuristic language of prewar poetry to the simple, lucid, uninvolved style of so many of the lyrics and ballads on war themes. In marked contrast to so much of the earlier verse is the treatment of love. In truth, some of the finest love poetry to come out of the war is being written today in Soviet Russia.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

A Reader's List

AMERICA AND TWO WARS, by Dexter Perkins (Little, Brown, $2). A concise history of United States foreign policy from 1898 to Teheran, offering "not detailed narrative, but some effort at insight into essentials." Since 1898's clean break with traditional continentalism, Professor Perkins maintains, Americans neither could nor would have "isolation," because they have never been willing to abdicate their right of moral judgment on world affairs. The central axioms Professor Perkins' study derives are: (1) "Neutrality . . . has never been possible in periods of general European conflict," and (2) "In . . . international politics . . . today . . . the ultimate arbiter of moral principle is force." Professor Perkins briefly outlines his own postwar plan for a concert of force and examines many provocative points of comparison between Wilson's diplomacy and Roosevelt's—indicating, seemingly, that Roosevelt is consciously avoiding some of Wilson's missteps. A more extended treatment would have been preferable.

HEADQUARTERS BUDAPEST, by Robert Parker (Farrar and Rinehart, $3). "No matter what you may think," writes the author of this gossipy and informative report on Danubian and Balkan politics, "nothing Joe Stalin could ever possibly dream up for Eastern Europe (allowing he was so inclined) could possibly be as distasteful to the peoples of that area as the governments they have had—the governments the British have been sheltering in London and Cairo." The truth of this remarkable sentence is demonstrated by dozens of incidents which the author, as a former Eastern European chief of the Associated Press, had an opportunity to observe. The book contains a mass of miscellaneous information which, if not new to the expert, should be of interest to the layman anxious to understand the complicated pattern of Southeastern European politics in the past decade. Although the author is occasionally naïve in his evaluation of political events, his closeness to the scene of action makes his book lively and readable.

PIONEERS! O PIONEERS! by Hilary St. George Saunders (Macmillan, $2). This bird's-eye view of the United States written by one of Britain's most perceptive pamphleteers skims the surface of American life from the "top of the Mark" to Staten Island. Mr. Saunders was visibly impressed by Mr. Willkie's gusty charm, Charles Boyer's Foyer Français, the zoot suit, the roomette, Leonard Lyon's night-club beat, the live beauty of American women and the New

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York skyline, before which he says "even Milton might be baffled, even Shakespeare hesitate." He was not so impressed with Colonel McCormick and The Chicago Tribune. Beneath these somewhat superficial Americana, Mr. Saunders sensed a vital, growing, classless society with which England should coöperate.

Contributors

PAUL A. SAMUELSON, an associate professor of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, is now on leave to do technical war work. He formerly served as consultant on postwar planning to the National Resources Planning Board.

ANDRÉ MESNARD was born in Paris in 1899 and came to this country in 1905. He was graduated from Columbia University and lectures in French at Barnard College. He is a member of the Executive Committee of France Forever.

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